DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 081 257 FL 004 292

AUTHOR	Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono, Comp.
TITLE	Cultural-Linguistic Aspects in Asian Language Teaching. Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the American Council of Teachers of Uncommonly-Taught Asian Languages.
INSTITUTION	Hawaii Univ., Honolulu. Southeast Asian Studies Program.
PUB DATE	73
NOTE	100p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Professor William Gedney, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104 ($1.50)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Conference Reports; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Education; Cultural Traits; Hindi; Indians; Indo European Languages; Indonesian Languages; Javanese; *Language Instruction; *Teaching Methods; Thai; *Uncommonly Taught Languages; Urdu

ABSTRACT

Problems encountered by teachers of uncommonly-taught Asian languages attempting to teach the culture of the native speakers of the target language are discussed in these articles: (1) "Cultural Context, Linguistic Categories, and Foreign Language Teaching: A Case from Marathi" by Vasant S. Khokle, (2) "The Ethnology of Communication and the Teaching of Languages" by John U. Wolff, (3) "On the Role of Discourse in the Teaching of Thai" by Beatrice T. Oshika, (4) "Honorifics as Linguistic and Cultural Phenomena: A Case in Javanese" by Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, (5) "Integrating Culture in Indonesian Language Teaching: An Inevitability, But How Much?" by David H. de Queljoe, (6) "Culture in Southeast Asian Language Classes" by Nguyen Dan Liem, (7) "The Aspect of Culture Through the Teaching of Bahasa Indonesia" by David S. Sjafiroeddin, and (8) "Some Cultural and Grammatical Aspects of Gender in Hindi and Urdu" by Carlo Coppola. (RL)

ED 081257

CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC ASPECTS IN ASIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting

of the American Council of Teachers

of Uncommonly-Taught Asian

Languages

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Compiled by

Soenjono Dardjowidjojo

Reproduced by the Southeast Asian Studies Program

University of Hawaii

1973

FL 004 292

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	ii
CULTURAL CONTEXT, LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: A CASE FROM MARATHI Vasant S. Khokle, Michigan State University	1
THE ETHNOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION AND THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES John U. Wolff, Cornell University	18
ON THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE IN THE TEACHING OF THAI Beatrice T. Oshika, University of Wisconsin-Milwauke	28
HONORIFICS AS LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA: A CASE IN JAVANESE Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, University of Hawaii	33
INTEGRATING CULTURE IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING: AN INEVITABILITY, BUT HOW MUCH? David H. de Queljoe, Northern Illinois University	50
CULTURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGE CLASSES Nguyen Dang Liem, University of Hawaii	59
THE ASPECT OF CULTURE THROUGH THE TEACHING OF BAHASA INDONESIA David S. Sjafiroeddin, Ohio University	75
SOME CULTURAL AND GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF GENDER IN HINDI AND URDU Carlo Coppola, Oakland University	84

INTRODUCTION

As the need for language competence is felt more and more significantly by people from various academic fields, language teachers also feel that language is truly a small portion of a bigger iceberg. The concept of deep versus surface dichotomy in linguistics can, in fact, be extended to mean that language use is only a partial surface manifestation of a deeper form called culture. When students learn a foreign language, their ultimate aim should be directed toward the understanding of the ways people do things and why they do them. At the same time language teachers also feel that while this goal is the most ideal, it is not very easy to handle, due partly to our imbalanced knowledge of more than one dicipline, and partly also to time limitation in the classrooms. Students also have to face a unique problem of not being able to get themselves exposed to the natural environment while pursuing their language study.

It is for this reason that the newly formed ACTUAL (American Council of Teachers of Uncommonly-Taught Asian Languages) attempted to deal with the topic "Integrating Culture in Programs for Uncommonly-Taught Asian Languages" in the 1972 session held in Atlanta with the hope that some light could be thrown upon our various problems.

As the preparation for the session progressed, it was felt that some kind of documentation should be made, so that ACTUAL would eventually have a complete file of all the papers read. It is with this spirit in mind that all the papers presented at the meeting are here reproduced without selection. Authors are free to submit their papers to journals for official publication.

As President of ACTUAL as well as compiler of these articles, I would like to thank Dr. Walter F. Vella, Chairman of the Southeast Asian Studies

Program, University of Hawaii, for the support that makes this reproduction possible. Last but not least, without the cooperation of the authors whose works are included here, ACTUAL would not have been able to start with its documentation.

Let's hope that we would be able to continue with this pioneering work in the future.

S.D.

CULTURAL CONTEXT, LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING - A CASE FROM MARATHI

Vasant S. Khokle

Michigan State University

As the title of this paper indicates, it is an attempt to explore the intimate relationship of cultural context and linguistic categories in the Marathi situation, with foreign language teaching. By cultural context is meant the cultural content which is relevant to explicating the structure of a language. In this sense, such content is as much linguistic as it is cultural. By linguistic categories is meant categories of linguistic elements. We will be concerned with only two major categories of verbs in Marathi in this paper, namely [+ agentive] and [- agentive]. In passing, I should remark that observations made in this paper apply also to Hindi and other modern languages of India of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian origin.

I. Major Verbal Categories in Marathi:

Note the following two sentences representing two distinct sentence types.

1. mulgā dār ughaḍto

   boy door opens

   The boy opens the door.

2. dār ughaḍta

   door opens

   The door opens.

Sentence 1 has the following characteristics:

a. The verb agrees with the subject.

b. The relationship of the subject to the verb is that of an *agent* which is at least animate and normally a human being.

c. The verb has an object with which the verb does not agree.

Sentence 2 has the following characteristics:

d. The verb agrees with the subject, which is inanimate. This is so because the subject here is none other than the object in sentence 1. Without exemplifying, let me add that the subject in sentence type 2 can also be an animate or a human element if its corresponding type 1 has an identical object with some overt markers which need not concern us here.

e. The relation of the subject to the verb is by no means that of an agent. The term *subject* here truly expresses the grammatical relation, i.e. the fact of the verb agreeing with the noun in question. Logically speaking, the agent is completely missing.

f. The sentence is complete with the presence of the subject and the verb. It is absurd to talk of *object* in the context of 2 since it has a transformationally derivative relationship to 1 above. Thus logically speaking, the subject in 2 is still the object in 1.

Let us call the verbs represented by the verb in 1 as [+ agentive]. Conversely, the verbs represented by the verb in 2 are [- agentive]. Further, the verb type in 1 has the ability to take an object which will mark it as [+ transitive]. Conversely, the verb type in 2 will be marked as [- transitive] for its inability to take any object. Thus we have isolated two verbal categories.

(I) $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ agentive} \\ + \text{ transitive} \end{bmatrix}$ in sentence type 1.

(II) $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ agentive} \\ - \text{ transitive} \end{bmatrix}$ in sentence type 2

For the sake of completeness, let me introduce a third category which will be marked as (III) $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ agentive} \\ - \text{ transitive} \end{bmatrix}$ as exemplified below.

3. mulgā jhopto.

   boy sleeps

   The boy sleeps.

The verb in 3 is capable of taking an agent but cannot take any object.

As noted above, we will be mostly concerned with categories (I) and (II) above. It should be noted here that the verbs so far cited are unit verbs, i.e. the principal meaning is carried by a morpheme. However, there are also complex verbs, which are a complex of two elements, the first of which may be a noun or an adverbial and the second a verbalizer either transitive or intransitive. The following examples can be noted in this respect.

4. mulgā kām karto

   boy work does

   Boy works.

5. kām hota

   work occurs. i.e. work goes on.

In 4 and 5 above, the noun *kām* is part of the complex verb and the morphemes *kar* and *ho* are transitive and intransitive verbalizers respectively. I would like to note further at this point that such verbs will have to be listed in the lexicon separate from the component noun together with what

particular verbalizer that particular noun can take to form a complex verb. These complex verbs also are included in the categories noted above, i.e. in 4 the complex verb belongs to (I) and in 5 to (II) etc.

II. Marathi and English Contrasted:

Marathi differs from English very characteristically in the fact that Marathi has a preponderance of [- agentive] verbs where English uses [+ agentive]. This conclusion was arrived at by comparing Marathi verbs with their English translations in *Spoken Marathi* by Southworth and Kavadi which is a textbook for teaching conversation in Marathi. I tabulated a total of 70 sentences which contain [+ agentive] verbs in the English version and [- agentive] verbs in the Marathi version. Only 14 out of these can be said with a transitive Marathi verb without affecting their general acceptability. Out of these remaining 56 [- agentive] verbs, 26 expressions simply do not have a [+ agentive] counterpart in Marathi. The remaining 30 do have a [+ agentive] counterpart but it cannot be used in the same context. Let me note one typical sentence.

6. tulā sākhar pāyje kā ?

   you to sugar needed Question (Is sugar needed to you?*)

   Do you want sugar?

This is the only way that this expression can be said in Marathi, i.e. in a [- agentive] way. Unlike Hindi which has a [+ agentive] *cāh* to [-agentive] *cāhiye*, Marathi does not contain in its lexicon any [+ agentive] counterpart of its [- agentive] *pāyje*. However, the preference of a Hindi native will invariably be for the [- agentive] *cāhiye* in such a context even though he has a [+ agentive] verb available to him.

III. Linguistic World View:

Language has been defined as a formal system with a semantic-phonetic correlation. This system builds up a conceptual pattern with respect to reality. It is exactly this conceptual pattern which the expression 'linguistic world view' represents. I would like here to note what kind of 'linguistic world view' the three verbal categories established above yield.

In sentences 1 and 4, the verbs are $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ agentive} \\ + \text{ transitive} \end{bmatrix}$. It is the active involvement of the agent, i.e. the agentivity, which is stressed in such sentences. The object is only a part of the action, i.e. the sufferer. However, a Marathi speaker has another way of conceiving of the same event which is represented by sentences 2 and 5, in which the action takes place without reference to any agent involved and with sole reference to the action as it concerns the object suffering the action. Let us call 2 and 5 de-agentivized sentences as opposed to the agentive 1 and 4 above. For the sake of completeness again, sentence 3 signifies an action which no doubt has an agent but the agent himself is a sufferer of the action, a fairly correct definition for genuine intransitive verbs.

IV. [± agentive] in a Philosophical Context:

One day in my Elementary HIndi class the following sentence came up for translation as part of a spontaneous conversation among native English speaking students. The student concerned said the following sentence in Hindi with the intended English meaning as indicated.

7. main kitāb nahin dekhatā hun.

I book not see do

I do not see the book.

The context was that the student was told by his interlocuter that the book

was in the next room and the student went to the other room and found no book there. In response to this situation, he said sentence 7 to his interlocuter. In English, the sentence is correct given the situation as described. However, in the same situation, a Hindi native speaker will say the following rather than sentence 7 above. Hence I corrected him and asked him to say it in that way.

8. mujhe kitāb nahin dikhati hai.
   me to book not visible is
   The book is not visible to me.

As the English translations show, 7 is an agentive sentence and 8 is a de-agentivized sentence. It is intriguing to see the difference in the two languages when the context is exactly the same. Naturally, we have to look into the linguistic world views of the two languages, which very likely are behind this difference.

The situation fits Marathi also. A Marathi speaker will not say the following agentive sentence in the same situation.

9. mi pustak pahāt nāhin
   I book see do not
   I do not see the book.

Instead, he will say its de-agentivized counterpart as given below.

10. malā pustak disat nāhin.
    me to book visible not is
    The book is not visible to me.

This situation calls for a deeper investigation into what controls the use of agentive and non-agentive in Marathi (and Hindi) than just categorizing verbs and giving some transformations. If the aim of teaching a foreign language is to enable the student to use a particular structure

correctly in a particular context, he must have available to him the contextual factors which control the use of particular structures in given particular situations.

Sentence 9 is agentive with the meaning of 'physical act of seeing' whereas sentence 10 is de-agentivized with the meaning of 'sensation of vision' involved. If we look at it more closely, we find a direct relationship between the structure of these two sentences in terms of [± agentivity] and the meaning thereof. In order to perform a physical act, there must be an agent present in the sentence. Hence the agentive structure of 9. However, to have a sensation which is the effect of a causal physical act, the agentivity is already a thing of past. What remains is the pure sensation or action signified by the de-agentivized verb. Thus the existential independence of sensation, the impersonal nature of experience, is emphasized by the de-agentivized sentence. Let us explore if this correlation between agentivity and physical act, and non-agentivity and pure sensation exists and holds in other cases too.

To begin with let me look for an answer into the traditional view of a layman in India, especially a Hindu, on categories of sensory experience. Philosophically, five sensory organs have five kinds of sensory experience, namely, vision, smell, noise, taste and touch. We have seen above, that the said correlation exists in the case of vision. Sentences with the remaining four categories are as follows.

11. mi phulācā vās gheto.
    I flower of smell take
    I smell the flower.
12. malā phulācā vās yeto.
    me to flower of smell comes
    Smell of the flower comes to me.

13. mi āvāj aikto.

    I noise listen

    I listen to the noise.

14. malā āvāj (aiku) yeto.

    me to noise (hearingly or audibly) comes

    Noise comes to my ears.

15. mi cahāt sākhareci cav gheto.

    I tea in sugar of taste take

    I taste sugar in the tea.

16. malā cahāt sākhareci cav yete.

    me to tea in sugar of taste comes

    Taste of sugar comes to me in the tea.

17. mi pāṇyālā sivto.

    I water to touch

    I touch the water.

18. malā pāṇyācā aparša hoto.

    me to water of touch happens

    Touch of water occurs to me.

The correlation which we established with respect to sentences 9 and 10, holds beautifully with respect to the pairs 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, and 17-18. This dichotomized correlation has been generalized through the entire language. In the process the restricted dichotomy of 'physical act vs. sensation' has been enlarged to include various other 'actions and general experiential states'. One may have a [± state] category in a linguistic description of Marathi to be closer to grammatical reality. However, the basic nature of the above dichotomy remains, i.e. deliberate, personally involved agentive acts vs. resulting de-agentivized impersonal experiential states.

Let me take the liberty of making a conjecture that this dichotomy accords very well with the dominant role of destiny in the thinking of an Indian mind, i.e. we are destined to receive experiences according to what we have done in our past life, in which we are not agentively involved since we cannot do anything about it. Those actions which are building up our destiny for the future life have to be deliberate and hence agentive. Thus we may have to add a culturally oriented dimension, i.e. the philosophical dimension, to the correlation established above as [+ agentive] and a deliberate act is also destiny-building and a non-agentive and experiential state is also an experience resulting out of destiny.

V. [± agentive] in Social Context:

Imagine a situation where my interlocuter asks me to go into the other room and get a book. Suppose I say sentence 9 above. The connotation is impolite and rude since I am refusing to perform a physical act which is a pre-requisite to get the book. Further, the habitual aspect of the verb adds arrogance to my impoliteness by implying that I am not in the habit of looking for (anybody else's) book. Under normal conditions, I will not respond with sentence 9 in the given situation. Instead I will use sentence 10 which is a de-agentivized counterpart of 9. Let us investigate why 10 is not rude.

19. pustak tithe nāhin mhaṇun malā disat nāhin.
book there not is so me to visible not is
The book is not there. Therefore it is not visible to me.

20. pustak tithe asel paṇ malā disat nāhin.

book there may be but me to visible not is

The book may be there but is not visible to me.

In both cases, I am not refusing to perform the physical act as I would if I were to respond with 9. In fact, I am implying my willingness to perform the physical act by using a de-agentivized verb signifying an experience to which a particular physical act is a pre-requisite. Sentences 19 and 20 explain that my not having the sensation is either the book's fault for its not being there or my failure to see the book is due to some reason other than my willingness to see it, like total darkness in the room or not having enough time to search through all the junk lying around in the room, etc. In fact, sentence 10 becomes all the more polite simply by not making any reference to the causes of failure to have any sensation.

Let me add further that regardless of whether the two interlocuters are of equal or unequal status, the fact remains that sentence 10 is a more polite response than 9 in the situation specified above.

Let us look further into the given situation above as to why a person would be motivated to use sentences 9 or 10 knowing well their respective implications of rudeness and politeness. By using the agentive sentence 9, by refusing to perform the physical act implying rudeness, the individual is claiming a higher status, at least temporarily, than his usual one which may be that of an equal or an inferior. By using sentence 10 on the other hand with a de-agentivized verb, the individual is accepting, at least temporarily, a lower status than the person to whom he is responding.

Let me claim then that in order to bring out total semantic content of the sentences represented by 9 and 10, the feature of *status* is an imperative. This feature must be imposed along with the feature *interlocuter*

which will be specified as speaker or hearer. One of the definitions of rudeness in social terms is the claim to an equal or a higher status by a person of lower status. One of the definitions of politeness is acceptance of a lower status by a man of a lower status, or especially by one of a higher status. As we have seen above, [± agentive] feature for categorizing Marathi verbs lies at the very root of the social concepts of [± status] and [± polite]. Thus each sentence with marking for [± agentive] will also have to have marking for status and interlocuter features. As far as the feature interlocuter is concerned, any lexical item with a feature marking [+ human] can be either a hearer or a speaker. However, status features are socially pre-determined and this fact must be reflected in a lexicon of Marathi. There are many items in Marathi which stand in a particular status relationship to one respective item in the lexicon. These items, of course, have to be [+ human] to be an interlocuter. We can at this point enumerate a few such pairs signifying relationships like student-teacher, younger-older, impure-pure, dominant-dominated etc. Each lexical item participating in status relationship will thus have to be marked as to its status with respect to the other member of the pair. This will involve items indicating such relationships in the total day-to-day activities of human beings of social, religious, economic and political nature.

I would like to note at this point that the status markings are being proposed as binary, i.e. only in relative terms. From a communication point of view, changes in the relative status of social categories in reality will not necessitate any change in the language structure. It will be interesting to note at this point what anthropologists observe about the hierarchy of social categories, for example, castes. Let me quote from

M.N. Shrinivas, the leading social anthropologist of India, a passage on the caste hierarchy.

> "The essence of hierarchy is the absence of equality among the units which form the whole: in this sense, the various castes in Rampura do form a hierarchy. The caste units are separated by endogamy and commensality, and they are associated with ranked differences of purity and occupation. Yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact, or even the approximate, place of each caste in the hierarchical system." (pages 19-20)

What in essence Srinivas is saying by defining the caste hierarchy negatively is that the castes can be arranged in status relative to each other but not in an absolute manner. As we have noted above, the language, in this case Marathi, provides a means of communication only in relative terms as is required by the social structure. I suppose, this is a classic example of a match between the social and linguistic structures. No wonder, Marathi and presumably other modern Indian languages have the socio-semantic implications discussed in the foregoing pages permeating the entire verbal structure, and consequently the total sentence structure.

VI. Implications for Foreign Language Teaching:

Transformational theory stipulates that the goal of linguistic theory is to explicate the competence of a native speaker of a language. As a corollary to this goal, the goal of teaching a foreign language should be to develop native competence in a language learner in a particular foreign language. However, it is by now well known that human beings lose a fair amount of language learning capacity by their late teens, probably as a consequence of the linguistic maturation process with respect to their first language. In this sense, teachers of foreign languages in the United States at the college level work under a severe handicap. Nevertheless, the development of native competence as a goal of foreign language teaching remains there in spite of the above mentioned handicap.

In order to attain this goal, the teacher should emulate the manner in which a child learns his first language. As a child learns his first language in the totality of a cultural situation, it is obligatory on the part of the teacher of a foreign language to present the language in question in its totality which ideally would include the total culture. However, this cannot be achieved in practice, especially presenting the culture in its totality, on account of limitations imposed by an artificial classroom situation.

As a linguist, however, I have to presume that the construction of a total grammar of a language is possible, given an adequate theory and the most thorough investigation on the part of a linguist. Whenever such a complete grammar of Marathi, or for that matter of any language, becomes available, it will have to have a tremendous amount of cultural content as part of its grammatical description. As a linguist applying linguistic principles to the teaching of a foreign language, I claim then, that only that part of culture is needed in teaching a foreign language which is relevant in explicating the phonetic semantic correlation in that language. I have attempted to show in the preceding pages that this relevant part of culture is going to amount to a formidable lot, especially when I stop to think that there is much more to the grammar of Marathi than a description of only two verbal categories. In order to describe the grammar of these two verbal categories fully, a ranking of each [+ human] item in the lexicon with respect to every other item must be done. In many cases, rules for ranking will have to be formulated as part of complete linguistic description. Consequently, culture as a part of a linguistic description is going to amount to a huge portion much much greater than heretofore imagined. One of the major contributions of transformational theory as is apparent

from Katz and Fodor, Katz and Postal, and Chomsky has been to draw attention to abstract markers in the grammar which are not overtly marked. Whorf much earlier had claimed that covert categories are as relevant to a description of a language as are the overtly marked categories. Basically, all these scholars have been saying the same thing, i.e. for a complete linguistic description those cultural features which are relevant to explicating the linguistic structure must be taken into account. As I have noted above, this relevant portion amounts to practically the whole culture.

I should also emphasize that covert linguistic structure should be paid more attention than has so far been done. Marathi, like many other modern INdian languages, has formal markers of status, like intimate, familiar, formal, extra formal, etc. reflected in its pronominal or verbal structure with overt markings. However, more often than not these overt markers are not used at all either because of the ambiguity of the situation or changing notions of superiority or inferiority or the like on the part of a native speaker, and let me add that such occasions are much more numerous than situations compelling one to use overt formal markers. It is exactly in these situations that a proper communication can be carried on with the help of covert categories. Even in unambiguous situations when such overt markers of status are used, they do not reflect the differences in status in a variety of social contexts, such as a manager conversing with an executive or a secretarial subordinate. The manager invariably uses an honorific pronoun for the subordinate person. The latter of course has to use the honorific construction for the manager. However, it is only through the manipulation of categories like [± agentive] of a covert nature that the speaker makes known who is superior and who is inferior.

Needless to say, they are extremely vital to effective social communication in the Indian social context. This is not to say that the learning of overt pattern markers is not required. However, more attention can be paid to the covert categories with enough attention toward the overt markers. Needless to say, in order to accomplish this, we will need much deeper grammars than are available for many languages that are part of ACTUAL.

Furthermore, I would like to add that the significance of individual covert categories (as well as overt categories) can best be assimilated by a student if a larger framework of the culture is given as a frame of reference within which to fit the linguistic categories, presented through the teaching material. This will enable the student to see how cultural categories have been transformed when they are adapted by the linguistic structure. It is very crucial for a language learner to develop a capacity to look for the right things. This can be done much more efficiently in a larger cultural frame of reference. This will give him a *feel* of the language. With this, he will be well on his way to achieving a native speaker's competence.

Last but not the least, the logical necessity of having a native speaker to teach a foreign language cannot be overemphasized. If knowing a language involves knowing as much culture as I have attempted (and I hope I have succeeded) to show, i.e. practically the whole culture, only a native speaker with proper training can muster proper credentials to do the job. However, academic soundness is often sacrificed at the altar of economic and political expediency, not a rare phenomenon by any means. Of course, one may aim at a functional knowledge of a language and claim adequacy of credentials for a non-native speaker to teach a language.

However, that is missing completely what we have established to be the very goal of foreign language teaching, i.e. development of native competence in the language learner. Any compromise of the kind is only to be deplored.

VII. Summary:

I have attempted in this paper to explore the question of integrating culture into foreign language teaching from a theoretical linguistic point of view as well as a pedagogical one. We began by establishing for Marathi verbs the following categories: [± transitive], [± sense or state], [± interlocuter] and [± status]. In the process, not only did we observe that *culture* forms an integral part of a grammar of a language, we also saw as to *how much culture* forms part of a linguistic description itself, as in the case of Marathi which requires that relative statuses of various substantive items be specified in the lexicon. It implies practically the entire social hierarchy based on individual, group, religious, political, economic and other such criteria. Integration of this much culture is inevitable from a *theoretical point of view*, since it forms part of the linguistic description itself. We also saw that these linguistic categories are intimately related to certain cultural concepts in the real life of a native. This led us to postulate that *pedagogically* it is sound to impart enough abstract and behavioural aspects of culture which will serve as a larger frame of reference for the corresponding linguistic categories. Finally, presuming that total grammars of languages are available, which contain the kind and amount of cultural information represented by semantic features and other categories in the language structure, the indispensability of a native speaker to teach a language cannot be compromised.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chomsky, N. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* The M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Katz, J.J. and Fodor, J.A. "The structure of a semantic theory", *Language*, Vol. 39, pp. 170-210, 1963, reprinted in *The Structure of Language.* ed. Fodor, J.A. and Katz, J.J., Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964, pp. 479-518.

Katz, J.J. and Postal, P.M. *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*, Research Monography No. 26, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

Kavadi, N.D. and Southworth, F.C. *Spoken Marathi*, Book I, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Penn., 1964.

Newmark, L. "How Not to Interfere with Language Learning", *IJAL*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Part II, pp. 77-83, 1966, reprinted in *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar*, ed. Mark Lester, 1970, pp. 219-227.

Newmark, L. and Reibel, D.A. "Necessity and Sufficiency in Language Learning", *Internal Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 145-164, 1968, reprinted in *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar*, ed. Mark Lester, 1970, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston Inc., New York.

Srinivas, M.N. "The Social System of a Mysore Village" in *Village India - Studies in the Little Community*, ed. McKim Marriot, 1955, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. pp. 1-35.

Whorf, B.L. "A Linguistic Consideration of Thinking in Primative Communities" in *Language, Thought and Reality*, ed. John B. Carroll, 1956, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass. pp. 65-86.

Whorf, B.L. "Grammatical Categories" in *Language, Thought and Reality*, ed. John B. Carroll, 1956, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass. pp. 87-101.

The Ethnology of Communication and the Teaching of Languages

John U. Wolff

Cornell University

Questions of the ethnology of communication are not new to those of us in the language teaching profession. These are questions of style--which forms are the suitable ones for the context when there is a choice of form, or questions of appropriateness of subject matter, or questions of appropriateness of a response. A simple glance at pedagogical materials produced in the last ten or fifteen years will serve to demonstrate how far we have moved from those naive and simplistic times of the war years, when the first serious plans were made for preparing pedagogical materials for non-European languages. At that time, the plan was to fit manuals for every language from Tamil to Turkish, Telegu to Thai, into the same procrustean mold, with each manual containing the same number of units with an identical number of sentences and the identical content--each sentence being the same lock-step translation of the same English sentence. It never crossed anyone's mind that perhaps there are languages in the world in which they do not say 'hello' and do not say 'good-bye', or that there are cultures in which it is not appropriate for an unmarried young man to make small talk with an unmarried girl.

Long before sociologists began to appear in linguistic symposia and linguists began forging alliances with sociologists, language teachers have

been aware of the ethnology of communication--stylistic choice is every bit as important for communication as grammatical choice, and appropriateness of subject matter and appropriateness of response needs as much to be accounted for as grammatical principles. Our experience with the a.my language texts set the pace--the languages simply would not mold themselves into the socio-linguistic patterns set up for them, and since then, there has been a steady progression toward more and more normal materials. In almost every field we now find language learning texts which at least pay lip service to the notion that normal, every-day language is what should be presented. It is an encouraging development that a large portion of what is being produced now is in the format of dialogues typical of ones which might be uttered by native speakers of the language in question, or at least attempts to be so.

This is not to say that all language teachers have seen the light. Just as generations of geographers were destined to do battle with people who refused to believe that the world was round, so are we language teachers destined, evidently for generations to come, to do battle with the purists, the people who feel that there is something profane about the language as it is spoken and are determined to present to the students an artificial creation. I will not enter the fray here except to remark that I assume here that the goal of language teaching is to produce habits which match as closely as possible those of a native speaker and that this can only be done by presenting normal speech: the teaching of distorted speech can no more lead to formation of normal speech habits than can practice of distorted notes lead to proper performance of a piano piece. We take for granted in this paper the desirability of teaching a language as it is spoken by its native speakers, although I stand prepared at any time, armed with statistics

and test results, to take on those who argue that the puristic approach can do the job better, or in fact can do it at all.

Nor will I argue the feasibility or desirability of aiming to make Americans who study language X sound like X-ians, not like an American attempting to come out with language X. Like the four-minute mile it is an elusive goal, but certainly a goal which can be approached. Instead, I would like here to describe some of the types of problems an American student of X has in learning to respond like an X-ian and say the kinds of things an X-ian would normally say and even venture into strategies for meeting these problems.

Every language has its socio-linguistic profile, rules which just as much as the rules of grammar, predetermine the course of a conversation and the form of each utterance. Or, as most linguists would now agree, these rules are part and parcel of the grammar. The preparer of pedagogical materials must devise methods of inculcating these rules as much as the grammatical rules and habituate the student into obeying them. Thus the explicit statement of the socio-linguistic profile of a language, as much as any aspect of the grammar, is the basis on which an author is to devise his pedagogical materials. And if we are far from having adequate grammatical statements for our languages, the languages of South and Southeast Asia, all the more so do we lack statements of the socio-linguistic profiles of our languages. So that for our field, the basic research still remains for the most part to be done. In preparing our materials we must combine the preparation with the basic research on which our product is to be based.

We may divide the facts of a socio-linguistic profile roughly into three categories: (1) matters of style, (2) questions of the normalcy of conduct, expectations of human behavior patterns on the part of members of

the speech community, and (3) methods of communication. Under style we include all questions of choice of code or form where a choice is determined by the context--milieu and situation, the occasion or purpose of the utterance, the speakers and hearers involved and referred to, their relative status, and the type of relationship they have with one another. One uses different styles in the classroom than in the bedroom; one talks in a different way to a close friend with whom one has grown up than to, say, a customs inspector or a ticket seller. One talks to one's children differently than to one's superior at work, and so forth. Under the heading of expectations we include questions pertaining to the type of subject normally discussed, the normal way of reacting to certain events and the normal way of responding. In Britain personal questions are avoided or discussed in the most general terms--a British woman would normally not discuss the amputation of her breast, even with her own family, much less with casual acquaintances; Philippine women do talk of such things, even with strangers. In Indonesia one rarely refuses the offer of food or drink. In the Philippines it is pro forma to do so. We can think of thousands of ways any two speech communities may differ in these respects. Under the heading of methods of communication we include matters such as taboo and euphemism as well as questions of what meanings lie behind overt statements made. In the Philippines one does not normally refuse an invitation. One says 'I'll try'--which can be understood to be a refusal. In our speech community we say 'come see me some time' by which we do not mean to extend an invitation at all. We must be more specific if we are to extend an invitation. These examples can be multiplied by the thousandfold. In any case, they are all part and parcel of what one must master if one is to function in a speech community in a way approaching the way native speakers function in the community.

Language teaching has traditionally and most successfully dealt with questions of relative status, which we subsume under the rubric of style. I make specific suggestions for strategies to meet these problems, not implying that these are more important than other problems I refer to, but rather simply because time does not permit me to explore everything thoroughly. The commonly taught European languages all have alternative terms of address, and their number concord systems make it impossible to carry any utterance far without making an unambiguous choice. Thus, no lesson materials of these languages fails to address itself to this difficulty, and since the rules for determing the choice in most cases are quite unequivocal, there has been a good deal of success in leading the students to the point that they can, on their own, make rational decisions of which form to choose. In European languages the problem is mainly grammatical as opposed to sociolinguistic, since there are only two choices and the boundaries of the two types are plain.

In the case of languages of South and Southeast Asia the problem may be much more complex. In many cases it is not just a matter of a two-way choice, but actually there are a half dozen or more possibilities and the status system may involve not only the addressee but also the person referred to and the speaker. In sheer form the task is sometimes gigantean: Javanese in its everyday vocabulary has more than a thousand special forms which indicate status and they occupy a large percentage of any spoken text. However, the manipulation of these forms in a grammatically correct way, apart from social considerations, can be inculcated by the methods of language teaching which have become standard. The manipulation of forms apart from context is taught by the same sort of grammar drills that manipulation of verb forms, and the like, is taught. But the inculcation of the meanings

is another problem, which heretofore has not been faced, as far as I know. Given, say, seven forms in Indonesian for 'you', there is no problem of getting the students to make up correct sentences with any one of these seven forms, and control them freely in speech. But when it comes to the question of how to get the student to choose the right form depending on the situation, the persons he is talking to and who is present, we have so far done little. It is a problem we have swept under the rug, even though we have ample experience that the wrong term of address is invariably the cause of extreme embarrassment not only for the Indonesians who are the victims, but for the American, who quickly senses that he is doing something wrong, but has no way of discovering what it can be.

This was a problem not successfully dealt with in my Indonesian lessons and one of my concerns now is to rectify it for future editions. Much of the strategy for dealing with the problem, of course, involves the specifics of Indonesian usage, which is of marginal interest to this audience, but I can enunciate general principles. The first a priori principle is to get the facts correct. And these can only be ascertained by an examination of actual usage in the country itself, and not just one speaker in one situation, but many varied speakers in varied situations. For Indonesian this has not been done heretofore.

Once usage is ascertained, a strict division can be made between forms which a foreigner must know actively at the earliest stages and forms that he need only recognize. This has the effect of reducing to more managable proportions the number of choices a student is required to make. How to decide which forms a foreigner must know from the earliest stages: I would eliminate a priori any forms which suggest that the addressee is a child or inferior in status. A foreigner will in any case not be able to do any

of the things one does in speaking to children until he is very advanced. Further we may eliminate forms of low frequency with the exeption of forms which are applicable unequivocally to a specific situation in which the foreigner is likely to find himself. The forms which have been eliminated may be presented passively, even in the earlier stages, especially if they are forms which occur commonly, but their active use should be postponed to a time when the student has control over the essential points.

Once we have determined the list of forms which must be inculcated from the beginning, we then turn to our exercises--exercises which not only develop control over the grammatical apparatus of the choice, but lead to social control as well: correct choice in the proper situation. There are two types of exercises I would like to distinguish: recognition and performance. In the recognition exercises the student is presented with materials and then is simply asked (in the target language, of course) questions about the participants of the dialogue: who was older, who is younger; are they friends, acquaintances or strangers; what is the scene of the conversation, and if the scene were shifted, what sort of changes would be made; what is the relative status of the participants, and so forth. The exact nature of the questions asked depends on the specific conditions which determine the choice. There are other sorts of things which might be done as well by way of recognition exercises. I am here only suggesting strategies, not listing them exhaustively.

For performance exercises, our basic sentences which the students are to memorize, are the most important. They must represent usage that is normal. There are two other sorts with which we have been experimenting. The first is simply a conversion drill. The student is presented with an

utterance addressed to a person of status X by a person of status Y. He is asked to convert the utterance to one in which a person of status X' is addressed by a person of status Y, or a person of status X is addressed by a person of status Y'. For Indonesian this sort of exercise is a good strategy for bringing the students to manipulate the avoidance pattern, which often involves restructuring the sentence grammatically, and at the same time it has the advantage of emphasizing the contexts in which the avoidance pattern is used. A somewhat different and more open ended sort of exercise is one in which the student is presented with a conversation which has blanks in it. The blanks are of sentence length or more, and the student is asked to fill in appropriate sentences. This sort of exercise may be varied by the length of the amount of material to be filled in or the length of the conversation. We have to some extent incorporated such exercises in our materials for Indonesian in the form of questions which accompany each dialogue. These questions are often couched in such terms that the social identity of the questioner and the interlocuter is clearly identifiable: a sentence of the sort, 'How about taking in a show tonight' clearly identifies the two participants as intimate friends; a question of the form, 'Excuse me. Could you tell me what time the train for Djakarta departs?' clearly identifies the situation; a sentence of the form, 'Where have you been. I've been calling you,' clearly establishes the context, and so forth.

A disadvantage of this sort of exercise is that it presumes a great deal of skill and sophistication on the part of the instructor who must judge the appropriateness of the response. As a general principle, materials should be designed to demand fairly mechanical classroom procedures, not predicated on employment of teachers with special gifts or advanced language

training. In our field, we are rarely in a position to have a wide range of choices of whom to hire as drill instructors.

An intermediate type of exercise which bridges the gap between recognition and performance is one in which the student is presented with a conversation with blank spaces and a choice of answers, only one of which fits. I throw this out as a suggestion. I have not tried composing exercises of this sort.

I have addressed myself to questions of terms of address and reference. But other questions of style need the same degree of attention, and certainly the same sorts of exercises are appropriate. Up to now, little has been done to deal with choice of formal versus colloquial, intimate versus distant and all the other elements which enter choice of form. These are all part of a language course, although for Indonesian we have done little to face the problems other than a simple presentation of texts in various styles.

The types of exercises we have so far discussed are also useful for manipulating other aspects of the socio-linguistic profile of a language. For example the technique of posing a question with a multiple choice answer is useful in giving the students control of meanings which lie behind a question. A question of the sort, 'Is that your book?' most likely would indicate that the interlocuter would like to look at it. Among the possible choices would be a statement like, 'Yes, would you like to see it?' and a statement like, 'Yes, it is my book.' Clearly, the first one is the proper response. Another technique is to present the answer and have the student make up a suitable question which would elicit the answer.

One final strategy I would like to discuss is one which is being developed by the Thai discourse analysis project at Cornell. This project

is being run together with a Thai intensive language training program which gives fifteen months of full-time instruction. Sets of dialogue patterns have been developed in which each dialogue in the set deals with exactly the same subject and has exactly the same content but varies with respect to the relative status of the speaker and the addressee. The sets of dialogues are grouped into series which focus on a specific socio-linguistic problem. For example, I have brought with me a series of six dialogues which focus on methods of expressing disagreement which the students are expected to memorize. These dialogues involve the same contents and show how a superior disagrees with an inferior, and an inferior disagrees with a superior, how equals disagree and how they disagree in the presence of a third party. Optimally, these dialogues are first presented with a film strip which indicates the extralinguistic markers (gestures and the like) which accompany the dialogue. Hopefully, the students will learn to manipulate these variables--i.e., learn how to express disagreement in ways expected by and acceptable to Thai speakers. At the minimum they will learn to recognize the signals, no mean achievement in itself if we consider that foreigners have so far been notoriously unsuccessful in catching these signals.

In this call for attention to the socio-linguistic profile of the speech community, I do not wish to imply that other aspects of the grammar should be disregarded or played down. Certainly the inculcation of the basic mechanics of the language must be a prime consideration. However, there is no reason why the rules of the socio-linguistic profile cannot be presented and exercised together with the other rules of the grammar, why we cannot insist that every utterance in the materials studied make socio-linguistic as well as grammatical sense, and why the students should not be lead, from the first day, to obey socio-linguistic rules as well as grammatical rules.

On the Role of Discourse in the Teaching of Thai

Beatrice T. Oshika

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

One of the characteristics of Thai which becomes immediately apparent to students of the language is the abundance of possibilities in the use of personal pronouns. The choice is dependent upon various features: person, gender, number, status, age, relationship (formal, ordinary, intimate), and attitude (non-restraint, deference, assertiveness), are among those mentioned by Gething and Cooke in their respective analyses of Thai pronouns.

Combinations of these features specify the choices available to speakers. That is, to select pronouns the speakers draw from a set of structured possibilities determined by the sex, relative age, relationship, etc., of the persons referred to, such that person X would use a particular "I-you" pair when speaking with his servant and another pair when speaking with his boss.

While the features, or significata, which define pronoun choices have been extensively studied, this information has been incorporated in the most minimal way in Thai language textbooks. For example, the Haas *Spoken Thai* glossary contains ten pronouns: /phǒm, dichǎn, chán, khun, nuǔ, thəə, man, thâan, khǎw, raw/; *AUA Thai Course* has six: /dichǎn, phǒm, khun, khǎw, kɛɛ, raw/; some Peace Corps materials include those already listed plus /kan, kraphǒm, kuu, câw, tua/. Most of these forms can be considered "polite". All are defined along the dimensions mentioned, so that in *Spoken Thai* /phǒm/ is defined as "I; used by men speaking to equals."

It could be argued that relatively few pronouns are taught because foreigners will not be expected to confront the full range of situations availabel to Thais and therefore will not need the full repertory of pronouns. However it is not the number of pronouns introduced, nor even the absence of complete definitions, which are in question, but rather the treatment of these pronouns in *discourse* as represented in textbooks.

It is the case that one of the ways of binding sentences together such that they form a fragment of discourse, as opposed to a list of unrelated sentences, is the notion of *referential identity*. That is, sentences 1, 2 and 3 appear to be related in a way in which sentences 4, 5 and 6 are not. In 1, 2 and 3, *Helen* and *her* are seen to have identical referents, as do *Prime Minister of Canada, Trudeau* and *jaunty French Canadian*, whereas such relationships do not hold in sentences 4, 5 and 6.

1. Helen took a picture of the Prime Minister of Canada.
2. Trudeau smiled at her.
3. The jaunty French Canadian greeted the crowds.

4. Helen took a picture of the Queen of France.
5. Salvador Dali smiled at him.
6. The aging actress smoked her pipe.

In Thai language textbooks this referential identity, especially when marked by pronominal forms, is maintained by the device of lexical identity. That is, the same lexical item is repeated again and again. An example from Lesson 25 of the *AUA Thai Course* is:

7. *khăw* chɔ̂ɔp thaan aahaăn thay "*He* likes to eat Thai food"
8. *khăw* bɔ̀ɔk wâa aahaăn thay arɔ̀y "*He* says Thai food is delicious"
9. *khăw* mây chɔ̂ɔp thaan aahaăn faraŋ "*He* does not like to eat Western food"
10. *khăw* bɔ̀ɔk wâa aahaăn faràŋ cùut "*He* says Western food is tasteless"

In a sentence-domain grammar, each of these sentences is well formed. However, these sentences do not constitute acceptable Thai discourse, as the sequence would not occur in normal speech and would be perceived as awkward and ill-formed by native Thai speakers.

One reason is that there is extensive pronoun deletion when the referent can be unambiguously identified, as in sentences 7-10. What would actually be found in Thai speech would be 7a-10a.

7a.	*khaw* chɔ̂ɔp thaan aahǎan thay	"*He* likes to eat Thai food"
8a.	bɔ̀ɔk wâa ...	"__ says that ..."
9a.	mây chɔ̂ɔp ...	"__ does not like ..."
10a.	bɔ̀ɔk wâa ...	"__ says that ..."

Another reason that lexical identity as a means of indicating referential identity is not sufficient when teaching Thai pronominal usage is the fact that native Thai speakers may switch freely between sets of pronouns in a conversation without any change in relationship or attitude of the people involved.

For example, T.S. is a young Thai woman majoring in linguistics at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In conversations with her older sister she can use the "I-you" pairs /nɔ́ɔy/(lit. "younger sibling" - /phîi/ "older sibling") and /khǎw/-/tua/ at will. When one person switches the other responds appropriately, so that if T.S. uses /nɔ́ɔy/-/phîi/ her sister will use /phîi/-/nɔ́ɔy/. If one of them switches to /khǎw/-/tua/ the other will also use/khǎw/-/tua/. The choice to change is open to either person and is used, according to T.S., "to avoid monotony."

Another example of the use of multiple sets of pronouns in a given context comes from Narinat, a popular culture magazine with short stories, advice to the lovelorn, dress patterns, recipes and an astrology column. These characteristics are mentioned only to show that the magazine has mass appeal and can be read and interpreted by most Thais.

One of the stories in an issue of the magazine has four characters: A-a man pretending to be royalty; B-his wife; C-a gardener; and D-a "spirit doctor" or specialist in the occult. In one conversation, A refers to himself as /kuu/ and refers to C variously as /âay, man, eŋ/ and /myŋ/. In another instance, B refers to herself as /chán/ and to C as /man, câw/ and /kɛɛ/. The spirit doctor refers to himself as /k͡hâa/ and /kuu/ and to the gardener as /kɛɛ/ and /myŋ/. In all these examples there were other characters present who were potential participants in the conversation and potential users of "I-you" forms. In very few cases were the dialogues specifically attributed, as in "The gardener said..." and "The doctor replied..." Yet native Thai speakers have no problem determining that, in a series of sentences spoken in a context involving many people, the pronouns /aay, man, eŋ, myŋ/ all have identical referents.

It is apparent that a) the semantic features of age, gender, relationship, etc., are not sufficient to describe pronoun usage in Thai, and b) dialogues and narratives based on rules of sentence-domain grammars do not accurately reflect the language of native Thai speakers. In fact, the competence of the native speaker includes the skill to *manipulate* and *vary* pronouns through discourse.

Therefore it is suggested that an objective of Thai language instruction should be to duplicate the behavior represented by that skill and to discover and teach the rules governing manipulations such as pronoun deletion and pronoun switching in sentence sequences.

References

Brown, J. Marvin. *AUA Thai Course*. AUA Language Center, Bangkok, 1968.

Cooke, Joseph R. *Pronominal Reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese*. University of California Publications in Linguistics, 52. Berkeley, 1968.

Gething, Thomas W. *Some Aspects of Semantic Structure in Standard Thai*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, 1966.

Loflin, Marvin D., Thomas Guyette and Marjorie Marlin. "Context: A Necessity for Semantic Interpretation," Technical Report Number 1, Institute for the Study of Urban Linguistics, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee. March, 1972.

Haas, Mary R. and Heng Subhanka. *Spoken Thai*. Henry Holt and Company, 1945.

Peace Corps materials: A Handbook of Useful Thai for Peace Corps Volunteers. Kazumitsu Kato, Coordinator.

HONORIFICS AS LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA: A CASE IN JAVANESE

Soenjono Dardjowidjojo

University of Hawaii

Perhaps it is not an exaggeration when we say that among the languages of Asia which make use of honorifics, Javanese is one of the most, if not the most, sophisticated. While languages such as Burmese, Thai, and Vietnamese do have various means of expressing politeness, (Gething, 1969; Cooke, 1968; Liem, 1969; Roop, personal communication), their honorific features do not permeate the structure as extensively as in Javanese. The depth of penetration in the Javanese honorific system can be seen not only from the number of lexical classes which are involved, the types of lexical items used, and the wide-spreadness of the usage in the social strata, but also from the morphological forms of some lexical classes. The types of lexical items are those which affect common daily life involving such things as bodily parts (head, leg, mouth, etc.), many of the possessable material objects (house, clothes, money, etc.) as well as the non-possessable but commonly used objects (market, street, sun, etc.), time of the day (morning, noon, night, etc.), human activities (eat, sleep, walk, etc.), states of being (easy, red, afraid, etc.), numericals (one, three, ten, etc.), and still many other forms not easily categorized, such as *approximately*, *last* (as in *last week*), *here*, *there*, *where*, and so forth.

The wide-spreadness of the usage is attested to by the fact that it cuts across social strata within the society. Contrary to what some scholars have said (Geertz, 1960, pp. 248-260), a speech level is ordinarily

observed when speaking Javanese, irrespective of the social class one belongs to or to the social class of the addressee.

While the number of honorific items in the language is indeed rather small, approximately 900 items (Gonda, 1948, p. 375), we now see that they are found in almost every aspect of human life which, therefore, makes it virtually impossible to avoid these items when speaking Javanese. The existence of honorifics in Javanese is indicative of a long established culture where the tradition of inter-personal communication is judged not on what one says but on how one says it. If language is considered as a partial reflection of a total culture, the use of honorifics can also be taken as a measurement upon which we judge not only the degree of interpersonal relations but also the degree of cultural loyalty that the native speakers show. This linguistic mannerism is so strongly held in Javanese that any mistake, intentional or not, is "apt to be considered if not as a downright insult or an act of crude and uncivilized behavior, at least as gaucherie and a deplorable lack of *savoir-vivre*" (Uhlenbeck, 1970, p. 441).[1] In Javanese terminology this is simply called *ora Djowo* meaning "un-Javanese."

The manifestation of a polite behavior is generally expressed in two ways: (i) in terms of physical behavior, which includes among other things the way one sits, stands, puts his hands when talking, and uses his fingers when pointing; and (ii) in terms of verbal behavior, which involves the proper choice of lexical as well as grammatical items when speaking. What is called Javanese behavior is that which combines the two above in a proper way.

---

[1]The reverse is, of course, true, that is, if the level is too polite, it creates an awkward and ridiculous situation.

On the matter of verbal behavior we can say that basically Javanese has two main levels[2]: *Ngoko*, the colloquial, informal, and non-polite language, and *Boso* (also called *Kromo*), the formal and polite counterpart. The latter is subdivided into two depending on the degree of formality aimed at. These are *Madyo*, which is semi-polite and semi-formal, used when some degree of formality or politeness must be shown, and *Inggil*, which is fully formal and polite.[3] The choice of a particular level is determined by two sets of factors. First, those factors which are "easily verifiable" within the society. These include age, rank, and oftentimes also kinship relations. Second, those which are related to a value judgment on the part of the addresser toward the addressee. For want of a better name, we can call them "intimacy."

Since age and rank are relative terms, and a value judgment is idiosyncratic in that it totally depends on one's personality, especially his attitude toward self and non-self, the Javanese people use much more refined sublevels.[4] In this paper we will concentrate only on the *Ngoko*, *Madyo*, and *Inggil* levels.

If we now use the terms *high* to refer to older age, higher rank, and in some cases older blood relation, *low* for the reverse, and *equal* for relative parity, we can say, in the most simplified way, that if the addressee

---

[2]The classification into *Ngoko* and *Boso* is based more on what the Javanese themselves usually refer to when they, as language users, talk about their language levels. This may differ from those which some linguists have postulated before.

[3]See Soepomo, 1968, and Uhlenbeck, 1970 for a detailed classification.

[4]Javanese scholars disagree on the number of sublevels, although nine seems to be the closest. See Soepomo, 1968; Uhlenbeck, 1970; and Soemarmo, 1971.

is high, the level used is *Kromo Inggil*. If the addressee is low, the level chosen is *Ngoko*. While it is true that equalness in age and/or rank is one of the factors that determines the use of *Kromo Madyo*, it is by no means the only factor required. As implied earlier, intimacy cuts across the age and rank boundaries. Therefore, it throws a great deal of influence in determining what the actual level--or sublevel--is. As a matter of fact, if we are to rank these factors, intimacy must be considered the highest.

Under a situational circumstance, if age or rank difference is not clearly known, what usually happens when an acquaintance is just made is that the conversers will start from *boso*, and later on go up or down the sublevels depending on the "indicators" found. These include, among other things, the game of guessing on both parts as to how one feels what level his counterpart wants him to be on. Usually, the closer the relationship is, the lower the level of formality becomes, although some crucial lexical items, such as those of human activities and pronouns, may still have to remain in *boso*. This is especially true in cases where, for instance, the age is high, but the rank is low, the age is equal but the rank is high, etc.

Using only *Kromo Inggil*, *Madyo*, and *Ngoko*, let me present the following state of affairs X: Suppose that we have three elements of X

(i) A male by the name of Koentjoeng, acting as an addresser

(ii) An obligational activity by an addressee, Gombloh, to perform an action of coming to an event

(iii) An event in the form of a party.

By taking only one factor, the age, we can at least have three sentences with one and the "same" meaning "You have to attend the party" depending on the following possible conditions:

Condition A: If Koentjoeng is a young man, say, a son, and Gombloh is his father, X is realized as

(1) Pandjenengan kedah ngrawuhi pesta puniko.
you must come-to party the

Condition B: If Koentjoeng is a young man, Gombloh is more or less of the same age, the two are good friends, but still have a fitting wall between them, X can be realized as[5]

(2) Sampejan kedah ndatengi pesta (pu)niko
you must come-to party the

Condition C: If on the other hand, Koentjoeng is the father, and Gombloh is his son, X must be realized as

(3) Kowe kudu nekani pesta iku
you must come-to party the

We see here that the surface realizations of X are determined not only by the linguistic rules that X may require, such as the choice of the locative verb suffix *-i* in contrast with the causative (Ngoko) *-ake* or (Boso) *-aken*, but also by factors which are couched within the value system of the Javanese society. To consider the syntactic, semantic, and phonological rules alone may very well convey the core message intended, but the sentence generated will unavoidably violate the social norms which the members of the community have established, and, therefore, expect any Javanese speaker to share and respect. Violations of social norms can bring about social consequences which range from a mere embarrassment to a serious social rejection.

The aim of this paper is to emphasize the indispensibility of cultural factors in languages in general and Javanese in particular, and to see how they can be handled in a linguistic model.

---

[5]There are other possible manifestations for Condition B depending on other factors not considered here, such as, rank and kin mentioned earlier.

We will view the problem in the light of generative semantics as developed by Wallace Chafe (Chafe, 1970). Two reasons must be given here. First, despite the recent trend in generative grammar to become more and more aware of the role that semantics plays in linguistic analysis (Fillmore & Langendoen, 1971), many still believe that syntax is *the* central component (Chomsky, 1965). The so called "deep structure" in what is now known as "standard theory," for instance, is an output that the syntactic component generates, to be subjected to only interpretive processes by the semantic (and phonological) component(s) before the surface structure is realized. From the Chafian point of view, which is also true with many generative semanticists nowadays, an adequate theory of language is that which starts from semantics as the point of departure, because it is here that human conceptual knowledge of the world lies. If this assumption is taken, there is then no reason for "identifying deep structure with anyting other than semantic structure." (Chafe, 1970, p. 9).

Second, Chafe's postulation of the verb as being central while the rest hanging onto the semantic structure of the verb seems to be intuitively justified--at least up to the point where cultural factors, such as the Javanese honorifics here, have to be accounted for. If, for instance, a meaning is to be attributed at all to the Javanese *Ngoko* sentence

(4) *Aku nglompatake pager

I cause-X-to-jump fence

the only possible intuitive interpretation would be to consider the surface object *pager* as if it were potent and animate, which, therefore, enables the surface subject *aku* to cause it to perform the action of jumping. It is very unlikely that native speakers would assign a unique meaning to the verb *nglompatake*. This becomes more obvious if we look further, which we

will not do here, at the intricate interplay among the Javanese affixes.[6]

At this point we must state briefly Chafe's theoretical model. In Chafe's view, out of the multidimensional conciptual space, there is a semantic structure where configurations of meanings are located. These configurations are transformed into a series of post-semantic representations by means of a set of post-semantic processes. The symbolization processes convert the post-semantic representations into their underlying phonological structures. These are then subjected to phonological processes which eventually yield the phonetic structures.[7]

There are three units for each verb and noun: inherent, lexical, and contextual.[8] Inherent features are those which act as first filters to narrow down the large conceptual space. These include features such as state, process, and action for verbs; and, count, potent, and animate for nouns. An exhaustive squeeze on inherent features will reveal a unit which cannot be further specified except through derivations. This is what is called a lexical unit. Lexical units usually appear in the form of roots. Contextual features function differently in that their presence cannot be predicted, given a lexical unit. These include inflections, definites, and new information.

Since verbs are held central, their features determine verb-noun relations of several types, such as, patient, agent, experiencer, beneficiary, etc. A sentence having a non-ambient verb must have either a patient, an

---

[6]A parallel treatment is given for Indonesian. See Dardjowidjojo, 1971.

[7]This paper is restricted only to the semantic structure. No attempt is made to go further into the post-semantic processes.

[8]Chafe (1970) earlier called them selectional, lexical, and inflectional features respectively. The terms used here are based on his 1971 version.

agent, or both. The presence of an instrument noun is determined by the presence of a process-action verb. The rest are determined by the presence of a set of inherent features within the verb.

Let us now look again at our state of affairs X. Since the concept of attending involves not only what one, the agent, does, but also a change in condition of someone or something else, the patient, the verb requires the inherent features process as well as action. These are given below

S-1 : V ---- ---⇒ process

S-2 : process ---------⇒ "come"[9]

S-3 : process ------ -----⇒ process
"come" action
"come" + locative

where S refers to semantic rules, broken shafts to "optional," single heads to "becomes," and double heads to "is specified further as."

Of the three elements in X, two must be marked as new, one of which is the verb root as given below

S-4 : V ---------⇒ V
root root
new

Finally, the obligational feature is indicated through S-5

S-5 : V ---------- -------⇒ obligational
(process
action)

where the parentheses indicate an inclusive disjunction. The semantic structure of the verb can now be given as in (a) below

(a) V
process
action
"come" + locative
new
oblig.

---

[9]The quotation marks are used to indicate that the actual root cannot be given yet.

where the root as a lexical unit is underlined, with the inherent and contextual features given above and below the line respectively. Anything that comes on the same line as the root is derivational.

Being a process, the verb must be accompanied by a patient noun N. This is given through rule 6

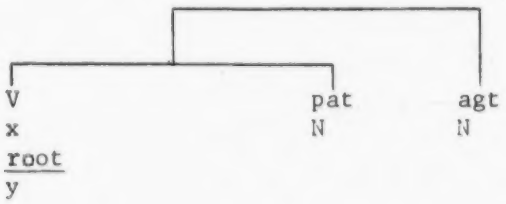
S-6 : V (state / process) -ambient ---------→ V (state / process) pat N

where the symbol { } indicates an exclusive disjunction.

Being a non-ambient action, the verb must also have an agent N as given below

S-7 : V action -ambient ----------→ V action agt N

The frame of the semantic structure of X looks something like this



It is now necessary to furnish the semantic structure of the two nouns. Let us now begin with the patient. The structure of the patient is relatively simple in that it consists of the inherent feature count, the lexical unit *pesta*, and the contextual features new in the environment of an agent, and definite. These are given below

S-8 : N ----- -----⇛ (count / potent)

S-9 : $\begin{pmatrix}\text{count}\\ \text{-potent}\end{pmatrix}$ ----------→ pesta, ...

S-10 : pat ----------→ pat / agt
N N
new

S-11 : N ----- -----→ definite
count

The complete structure of the patient can now be seen as follows

(b) pat
N
count
pesta
new
definite

If we now take the agent, we can see that S-8 can be used again with some modification given in S-12 to include the feature potent.

S-12 : agt ----------→ agt
N N
potent

After adding the inherent features animate, human, and unique through rules S-13 through S-15, the lexical unit through S-16, and the contextual feature through S-17 below

S-13 : count ----- -----→ animate
potent

S-14 : animate ----- -----→ human

S-15 : human ----- ------→ unique

S-16 : unique ----------→ "you"

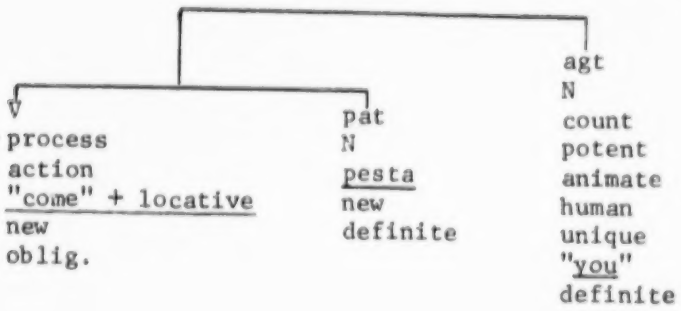
S-17 : N ----------→ definite
unique

we now have the semantic structure of the agent as shown in (c)

(c) agt
N
count
potent
animate
human
unique
"you"
definite

The complete semantic structure of the state of affairs X can now be presented in (d)

(d)



While the semantic structure in (d) is complete for many languages such as English or Indonesian[10], it is inadequate to generate a socially acceptable sentence in Javanese since honorific features have not, where necessary, been accounted for. This is why the roots for the verb and the agent have not been given. The assignment of roots for the verb and the agent without considering the honorific features will generate a sentence which is syntactically acceptable and semantically comprehensible, but it also invites a danger of being socially rejectable. It would be an unforgivable insult, for instance, to have the Ngoko verb root *teko*--from which *nekani* is derived--and the Ngoko form *kowe* for the agent, to be followed later with the Ngoko *kudu* for the obligational feature, for condition

[10]The completeness of the semantic structure similar to that in (d) is found in Dardjowidjojo, 1973 where post-semantic processes can then be immediately applied.

A where the addressee is the addresser's father. On the other hand, it is ridiculous to use *rawuh*--from which *ngrawuhi* is derived--, *pandjenengan*, and later on *kedah* for condition C where the addressee is the addresser's son.

Several attempts have been made to approach the problem of the relation between the *Ngoko* and the *Boso*. As an anthropologist, Geertz viewed the case as an interaction between what he called *batin* (inner life) and *lair* (behavioral world of etiquette), without reference to what we linguists call deep and surface structures (Geertz, 1960, p. 290). Even at the descriptive level, Geertz' analysis is, as Uhlenbeck has correctly pointed out (Uhlenbeck, 1970, p. 444), very misleading, because his analysis is based on an incorrect classification of the Javanese social structure. Uhlenbeck's own paper, which is probably the most detailed description on this matter ever written in English, is not intended to be oriented to a particular linguistic model. The only attempt to analyze the problem in the light of a particular linguistic model was presented by Soemarmo in our conference last year in Chicago. Unfortunately, the complete paper is not presently available, which, therefore, compels me only to say that he tried to look at the problem from the performative analysis advocated by John Ross.

It looks, therefore, that the problem of Javanese honorifics may remain problematic for sometime to come, as far as its treatment in linguistic theory is concerned. However, we may venture to view it from the model being used here.

A conflicting issue immediately arises. We recall that the semantic structure in (d) could be presented only after the inherent, lexical, and contextual features had been extracted. We also notice, however, that (d)

will not generate a socially acceptable sentence without the honorific features. Since, on one hand, an honorific feature does not determine the syntactic nor the semantic acceptability of a sentence, but, on the other hand, it must be incorporated in order to ferret out the lexical units for the roots where necessary, we wonder how and where it should be included. I believe that despite the lesser role that an honorific feature plays from the points of view of syntax and semantics, it is, nevertheless, a feature so important in Javanese that it deserves a full treatment within the theory.

One other modification that we must propose here concerns the role of the verb. As far as honorifics are concerned, the verb does not determine the noun(s). It is the nature of the relation between the addresser and the addressee--which is manifested in the noun roots--which determines what root the verb must have. Since the main function of an honorific is to narrow down the choice of a lexical unit, it would only appear logical that the rule which incorporates this feature should be placed before that which specifies the lexical unit. In our case it would appear that a rule should be added before S-2 for the verb and before S-16 for the agent. Unfortunately, we could not possibly do it in this way for the reason that we would not know what honorific feature the verb must have before we know what it is in the agent. Therefore, it seems that the honorific rule can only be added after the total semantic structure as given in (d) has been revealed. This solution may throw some support on our implied claim that honorifics do not really belong to semantics in the way that this term is usually understood.

Restricting our coverage only to the state of affairs X with conditions A, B, and C given before, the incorporation of the honorific feature is indeed

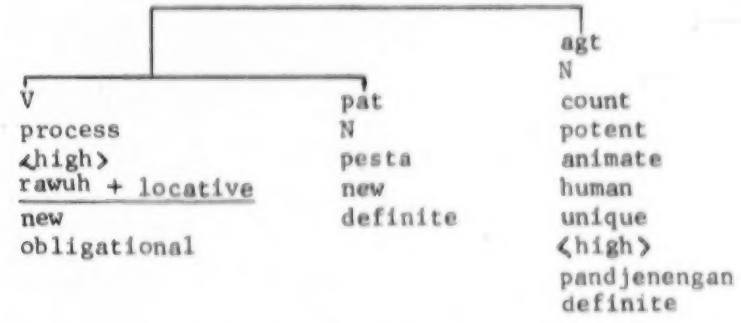
rather simple. If the feature high is found under the agent, then the verb must automatically have also high. Using H-18 (H for "honorific") for the agent and H-19 for the verb for condition A

H-18 : agt ------ -----» agt
N N
high

H-19 : V ----------» V / agt
high high

the semantic structure (d) is to be revised as given in (e)

(e)



Notice that we now have the lexical units for V as well as agt. Parallel rules can be added for *Ngoko* and *Madyo*, the latter having to be somewhat more complicated. Applications of these rules will result in the lexical units *kawe* and *teko* for Ngoko and *sampejan* and *dateng*, among other things, for *Kromo Madyo*.

If we further applied, which we would not do here, the post-semantic processes to (e), we would eventually come up with the phonetic structure.

As mentioned earlier, the total picture of the Javanese honorific system is much more complicated than what is presented in this paper, since there are more than three levels existing. The subject matter on the interplay among the levels is itself far from being solved. The point which we are trying to make here, however, is that whatever linguistic model is chosen, honorific features must be accounted for, if it is to generate

sentences acceptable not only on linguistic but also on socio-cultural grounds.

The theoretical implication from the foregoing analysis is that Chafe's model is still inadequate as far as honorific languages are concerned. Despite the fact that honorifics are insignificant from the points of view of syntax and semantics, nevertheless they constitute an integral part which make these languages what they are. It may not be too strong a demand, if we now say that linguistic theoreticians should now be more aware of the role of socio-cultural values which lie outside, so to speak, linguistics proper. It has been proven here that Chafe's model at the present state of the art is not capable of handling Javanese, or any other language with an honorific system. As a matter of fact, I doubt very much if any other model presently available has paid sufficient attention to this problem.

Another theoretical implication is that the centrality of verb does not seem to hold true anymore when it comes to honorifics. It is the relational feature that exists between the addresser and the addressee that determines what the lexical unit of the verb must be. In cases where a third person is involved a triangle relation must also be observed.

The pedagogical implications are numerous, the most obvious of which is that it would be extremely hard, if not impossible, to teach Javanese, even at the early stage of the game, without having to introduce immediately the cultural complexities surrounding the communicative process that exists in the interpersonal relations among the native speakers. While the well-gradedness of the materials and the teacher's tactful approach certainly constitute a pre-requisite for the course, I have found that sticking to one level for a few weeks at the expense of an unrealistic situation from the

Javanese point of view is more fruitful in terms of the learning process. An early introduction of two levels or more will only create a nightmare on the part of the students.

Bibliography

Chafe, Wallace, 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1971. "Linguistics and Human Knowledge," in R.J. O'Brien, ed., *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*, No. 24. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press.

Cooke, Joseph R. 1968. *Pronominal Reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono. 1971. "The *meN-*, *meN-kan*, and *meN-i* Verbs in Indonesian," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, December.

_____. 1973. "Semantic Analysis of *datang* in Indonesian," in N.D. Liem, ed., *Occasional Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics.* Canberra: Australian National University.

Fillmore, Charles and D.T. Langendoen, eds. 1971. *Studies in Linguistic Semantics.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Geertz, Clifford. 1960. "Linguistic Etiquette," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Readings in the Sociology of Language.* The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

Gething, Thomas W. 1966. "Some Aspects of Semantic Structure in Standard Thai." University of Michigan Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Liem, Nguyen Dang. 1969. *Vietnamese Grammar.* A Combined Tagmemic and Transformational Approach. Published as Series C Number 4 of *Pacific Linguistics.* Canberra: Australian National University.

Soemarmo, Marmo. 1971. "The Place of Honorific Levels in Grammar and Its Pedagogical Implications," paper read at the ACTFL meeting in Chicago.

Soepomo. 1968. "Javanese Speech Levels," *Indonesia*, No. 6. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Uhlenbeck, E.M. 1970. "The Use of Respect Forms in Javanese," in S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock, eds., *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell*, Series C, No. 13. Canberra: Australian National University.

INTEGRATING CULTURE IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING: AN INEVITABILITY, BUT HOW MUCH?

David H. de Queljoe
Northern Illinois University

While the culture and the language of a people may be studied by persons with no practical knowledge of the language of that people, the foreign language remains a lifeless and occasionally meaningless code until it is understood and appreciated as the manifestation of a specific culture.

In once discussing "culture" with Takdir Alisjahbana, he defined it as that which is left when all has been forgotten. He understood the culture of the individual to be that hard-to-isolate element that distinguishes the "cultivated" man.

One long-range aim of the foreign language teacher then seems to be to transmit to the student the target country's conception of the "cultivated" man; if this is so, the teacher, paradoxically, must actively teach those elements which exist for the "cultivated" man at the subconscious level--which he--the "cultivated" man--has forgotten.

From the practical standpoint, however, defining the "cultivated" man is an enterprise fraught with obstacles. Which man? From which part of the country? Of which period? For isn't the "cultivated" man in part born and not made? Wouldn't it be foolish to assume the student capable of comprehending such a concept?

The study of the Indonesian "cultivated" man is an enterprise fraught with even more obstacles, given the fact that the Archipelago encompasses so many subcultures, subsequently speeches, and that bahasa Indonesia came into being not before the twenties. Moreover, it has been suggested that not

only is culture imposed upon man but that it *is* man in a greatly expanded sense.[1]

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that culture remains the link between human beings and the means they have of interacting with others. When viewed from this angle, it is justified, I believe, to speak of Indonesian culture.

Culture is communication simultaneously carried on at many levels, conscious and unconscious, informal, formal, and technical. It includes the ways and attitudes of a people as well as their history, geography, social structure, art, and literature.

Language does not exist independently of culture. How, for instance, do we explain to an American the meanings of the words "warung" or "kampung" without portraying the society they fit into? And how to clarify to an Indonesian the connotations carried with the words "credit card" or "bussing" without describing the circumstances and conditions through which these terms have been created? Fitting a word accurately into a variety of grammatical patterns does not guarantee communication; our foreign interlocutor may understand something quite different from what we intended to convey, because we misinterpreted the meanings given to specific words or structures.

Language and culture--and for that matter, language and literature--do not exist apart from one another, regardless their separate listing in a college curriculum. As for literature, structure and vocabulary are the building blocks of any piece of writing; even the sounds of language persist as internal vocalizing when the student is reading to himself, for

---

[1]Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1966), pp. 166-167.

the choice of sounds is an element of the author's artistry and the reader's appreciation.

The foregoing will have reiterated that the teaching of culture is an integral part of language teaching. It will also have suggested that it would be useful for the teaching profession to have at hand a series on contrastive cultural studies similar to the contrastive structure series being published by the University of Chicago Press.

But until such research is available, where should the teacher begin, what will be the scope and sequence of the cultural segment in language teaching? Following is an attempt to organize this segment in a sequential order, per level. I will limit myself to College Levels I, II, and III.

Level I: The primary goals at this level are the mastery of the Indonesian sound system and basic structural patterns of Indonesian as well as the acquisition of a limited standard vocabulary. The cultural content at the early stages of this level is incidental to the language itself and is manifested in idiom, structure, vocabulary, and the contents of dialogues and short reading passages. For example, the "Saudara-Bapak" distinction is taught and reinforced by requiring the class to use the first form of address with each other and the second one with the teacher. Different levels of speech ranging from "sampai bertemu lagi" to "mari" are discussed very early. Vocabulary with special connotations for the Indonesian is commented upon as it is introduced, e.g. "selamat sore," "bapak guru," "seadanya saja," etc.

Ideally, the dialogue provides an opportunity for the teaching of new cultural content as well as new structures.[2] Often the cultural

[2]See, for example, Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, *Basic Sentence Patterns of Indonesian: An Oral Approach*, 2 Vols. (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii, 1970). Unpubl. manuscripts.

contrasts between Indonesia and the United States are highlighted by the use of dialogues which, if possible, involve students of the two countries. The cultural content not only interests the student but also serves to make the presentation of new structures less tedious. The student need not memorize the dialogue but must answer questions designed to point out the cultural content therein. It is difficult to be specific about dialogues since the content varies from text to text and since some dialogues may be entirely pedagogical in nature. In my experience, students react most favorably to dialogues dealing with the family, social life, and education. The dialogues which vary greatly in content may also be used as reading passages. As such, they can be supplemented by short stories. The latter are to be supplemented, in turn, by a series of slides which will make them excellent for our purposes. The reading materials can be discussed in class with questions designed to point out the cultural significance of the passage as well as new elements of structure.

The incidental cultural element of the language itself plus culturally oriented dialogues and reading passages thus permit an introduction to Indonesian culture at Level I. The primary goal, however, is the teaching of the sound system, basic structures, and elementary vocabulary.

Level II: Our goals at this level are a review and expansion of basic structures and vocabulary and the reinforcement of the language skills with a greater emphasis on reading. Consequently, opportunities for a greater exposure to Indonesian culture arises. Our emphasis on reading is both intensive and extensive. The grammar review contains occasional reading selections of a cultural nature.[3] These lessons provide

[3]See for example, J. P. Sarumpatet and H. Hendrata, *A Modern Reader in Banasa Indonesia*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1970).

practical information concerning such activities as eating at a restaurant and what people do in the afternoon hours. The reading materials are treated intensively in that the student must read them carefully and answer questions concerning details. Extensive reading is encouraged by making available copies of leading Indonesian periodicals, such as *Ekspres*, in the language laboratory and by asking students to make occasional comments on such reading in class.

Extra-curricular activities which foster an interest in Indonesian culture are also encouraged.

Interdisciplinary study of Indonesian music, art, history, or politics is also recommended. Whenever possible, we encourage students to take courses as electives in other departments which deal with Indonesian civilization or which are pertinent to it. Our own offerings are thereby complemented and fitted a broader historical and cultural spectrum.

Level III: This level is more directly culturally oriented than the first two levels. Presumably, we all have taken notice of Dr. Soemarmo's design of establishing an Indonesian language center in Indonesia--an attempt to give cultural meaning in depth to the study of bahasa Indonesia. Permit me to take this opportunity to add a few suggestions or reiterate a few points brought up in his design.

A civilization course could possibly be added to the proposed curriculum whereby emphasis be given on contemporary Indonesian civilization through a comparison of Indonesian and American culture. An extensive slide collection can be used as reference material in the laboratory which will complement the texts by providing cultural information on historical, literary and artistic foundations. These slides will be discussed in class.

Secondly, a phonetics course can be offered which will combine selective grammatical exercises with a primary emphasis on contemporary Indonesian culture. Students are required to make oral resumés of passages and then discuss the contents. Different levels of speech, from the bahasa RRI to local slang are also discussed in the phonetics course.

Thirdly, the composition course will reinforce the student's first two years of structural learning by a more complete analysis of the underlying differences in Indonesian and American expression. To take a common example: whereas an American normally says "she's boiling the water," an Indonesian would focus on the object rather than the agent and says "airnya dipanasinya." Such explanations of structure in terms of thought processes are essential if the student is expected to speak and write using truly Indonesian expressions. Written and oral compositions are, in addition, assigned on topics of cultural nature taken from current newspapers and magazines.

In the afore-mentioned courses the cultural content is necessarily studied and often emphasized. To varying degrees the students are tested for the comprehension of the cultural materials discussed.

Summary: At both Level I and Level II the sound system and structural patterns of the language receive primary emphasis, for the acquisition of the basic language skills is in itself an important cultural goal. Cultural content incidental to the language itself is explained whenever possible and is expanded in Level II by a greater emphasis on reading. At Level III, a specific course is devoted to contemporary civilization. In other courses at this level, the choice of texts will permit us to achieve the specific goals of each course while at the same time continuing the student's exposure to cultural contents.

Permit me to add a general suggestion: the attitude of the teacher toward Indonesian culture is of primary importance; cultural differences between the two countries should be presented without attaching value judgments to those differences.

Appendix (next two pages).

Appendix

GUIDELINES FOR THREE LEVELS OF COMPETENCE IN INTEGRATING CULTURE IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING - SOME SUGGESTIONS

Level I:

1. Demonstrate knowledge of the cultural connotations within the student's structural control as well as the accompanying gestures and expressions.
2. Show an awareness of the social conventions which regulate the what and how of communication in Indonesian culture.
3. Have an initial acquaintance with the manners, foods, clothing, customs, and family life, as derived from texts, audio-visual aids, and outside readings in English.
4. Reflect attitudes which show a human understanding and respect for a society uniquely different, and yet similar to one's own.
5. Know some folklore as well as a few anecdotes and proverbs.
6. Demonstrate as a result of class discussions and club activities an introductory knowledge of the music, dance, art, geography, and history of Indonesia.

Level II:

1. Appreciate how the values affect family, society, and education in Indonesia.
2. Show in classroom discussions how these values affect family, society, and education in Indonesia.
3. Demonstrate the ability to react to common situations, such as greetings, compliments, condolences, etc.
4. Express an awareness in written and oral work of the similarities and differences of each culture, as these characteristics are made evident

in films, slides, speeches by Indonesian visitors, and by Americans who have lived in Indonesia.

5. Read independently Indonesian newspapers and magazines which have a vocabulary commensurate to the student's interest and level of learning.
6. Attend whenever possible art exhibits and dance performances to appreciate the artistic accomplishments of the Indonesian people.

Level III:

1. Be cognizant of the varieties of ways in which main themes of the Indonesian culture are reflected in everyday cultural patterns.
2. Show an awareness of how age, social class, and area of residence affect the use of Indonesian.
3. Demonstrate the ability to evaluate the authenticity of statements made regarding Indonesian culture.
4. Develop, through reading selections that provide insights into the social structure of the country, a background sufficient to facilitate subsequent reading in the student's field of specialization.
5. Exhibit the ability to speak intelligently and correctly, expressing empathy for the social customs of the people, and knowledge of the land as regards history and geography, of selected literature, and of the role of religious and political groups, ethnic minorities, and education in the social life of the country.
6. Relate Indonesian culture, in oral and written work, to one's own discipline, especially the humanities.
7. Sense and begin to appreciate the contributions of the Indonesian people in literature, art, and music.
8. Be able, in the final analysis, to share Indonesian culture as an active participant of that community.

CULTURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGE CLASSES

Nguyen Dang Liem
University of Hawaii

1. Importance of Southeast Asian language and culture teaching and learning
2. Integrating culture in Southeast Asian language classes
3. Techniques
4. Staffing
5. Cooperation between Universities

1.

When in many American university campuses the students want to see all foreign language requirements abolished, any language teacher cannot help but wonder whether he really has a lot to offer to the education of younger generations as he used to believe.[1] When the cushion of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 has almost dissipated into nothingness, the Southeast Asian language teacher is left vulnerably exposed to extinction due to the Darwinian law of natural selection. In this critical state, the language teacher in general and the Southeast Asian language teacher in particular have to think about their profession in order to be able to adapt themselves to the new environment for survival. The more the language teacher thinks about his professional contributions, the more he is convinced that the teaching and learning of foreign languages is of great importance both in a country which needs an international language or

[1]At the University of Hawaii Hilo Campus, a fresh approach to higher education in the State of Hawaii has recently been adopted. Relevant to this paper are, on the one hand, the elimination of a foreign language requirement, and, on the other, the creation of a three-track foreign language program. The program gives the student the option of the conventional two-year course, a one-year conventional-cultural approach, or, for those who want to use it in their careers, an accelerated Japanese program which will yield intermediate proficiency in one year or less. The accelerate course uses methods developed by the old Peace Corps Training Center and headed by Dale P. Crowley at one point.

lingua franca for international communication[2] and mass communication as is the case with many multilingual countries,[3] and in one where an international language like English or Spanish is already spoken by the majority of the people.[4] Since one of the major roles of language is the expansion of culture,[5] the learning of a foreign language is the key to the intellectual, artistic, and literary riches of another nation, its value in general education is therefore undeniable.[6] Furthermore, as far as the teaching of Southeast Asian languages is concerned, in view of the fact that a Western country has vital interest in keeping abreast of international culture, and in having good communication with the Southeast Asian part of the world, the knowledge of one or more Southeast Asian languages by a large segment of its

---

[2]For further information about language situations in multilingual countries, see Joshua A. Fishman (ed.) *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. New York: Wiley, 1968.

[3]For further detail on the role of foreign language teaching and learning in Asia and Africa, see Franc A. Rice (ed.) *Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1962.

[4]For information about the role of foreign language learning in national education, see *The Teaching of Modern Languages, Report on the UNESCO Regional Seminar Held in Sydney, Australia, January-February, 1957*. Australian National Advisory Committee for UNESCO.

[5]For the relationship between language and culture, see, for example, Dell Hymes (ed.) *Language in Culture and Society*. New York: Harper, 1964. The concept of language as closely related to culture was systematized by Benjamen Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality*, edited by John B. Carroll, Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1956, and by Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*, edited by D.G. Mandelbaum, Berkeley and Los Angeles: U.C. Press, 1949. It was later consolidated by Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1954, 1955, and 1960.

[6]See, for example, *Second Language Learning as a Factor in the National Development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; Summary Statement and Recommendations of an International Meeting of Specialists Held in London, December, 1960*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1961.

population is an important factor in the educational, social, diplomatic, and even economic development of that nation. In fact, there are at least two communication needs to be recognized here: Being unable to practice isolationism in the present world, a Western nation has urgent need for social, economic, and psychological understanding of the Eastern hemisphere of which Southeast Asia constitutes an important part. Further, it ought to establish effective channels of communication with other nations. Perhaps one can argue that, in international diplomacy, it is the weaker and poorer nation that has to learn the language of the stronger,[7] but experience tells us over and over again that it is not the ideal case. International communication, just like interpersonal relations, should be a give-and-take situation.

Because second language learning is an important factor in national education, and because a knowledge of a Southeast Asian culture is the key to better understanding and appreciation of that part of the world, it is hoped that the teaching of Southeast Asian languages becomes more and more widespread in Western countries,[8] and that the teaching of culture and cross-cultural assimilation is made an integral part of the curriculum. In order to make the Southeast Asian language teaching expansion possible, means have to be found to enable universities and colleges to offer a maximal number of Southeast Asian language programs at minimal cost, and consequently to enable the students to choose the Southeast Asian language or languages

---

[7]The National Development Education Act of 1958 merits to be praised for its recognition of the importance of language teaching and learning in the United States.

[8]Since World War II, the expansion of foreign language teaching in the Western hemisphere is being noted.

they prefer to learn or that is or are most useful to their special fields of interest. A proposal to solve the problem of establishing low-enrollment Asian languages program can be found in another paper of mine entitled "Problems of Establishing Low-Enrollment Asian Language Programs" presented at the Conference on Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast, Oaxtepec, 1970, and later published in the Hawaiian Language Teacher, January 1971. It is then the purpose of this present paper to point out and try to solve the problems of integrating culture in Southeast Asian language classes while examining the classroom techniques, the staffing, and the necessity for cooperation between universities.

2

Since a practical statement of what culture is in terms of classroom instruction will have to be given here, a degree of clarification may result from making some remarks about the relationship between language and culture, what culture means to humanists and scientists, and ways of looking at culture.

For scholars such as Sapir, Whorf, and Pike language is not a self-contained system; the behavior aspects are closely related to linguistic aspects; and language is viewed as being only one part of a larger totality of structured human behavior. On the one hand, language is inextricably mixed with other aspects of this behavior totality, and on the other hand, language behavior constitutes a significant part of this total behavior. Since language is considered as being in relation to other behavior aspects of the totality of structured human behavior, and since, as what immediately follows here indicates, the totality of structured human behavior is what culture is, language is then closely related to culture.

The definition of the term *culture* encounters some difficulty, in fact the term has a number of meanings that are not only sharply different but at times contradictory. As Nelson Brooks says: "We find it (the term culture) used in reference to raising blueberries, improving one's speech, listening to string quartets, and training children in infancy. We find it used to refer to a nation's total character, thought, and action. We call cultural that which stands out as the *best* that people do; we also call cultural *everything* they do, and everything they think and believe as well. Clearly, no single word can mean all these things at once."[9] In a definition of culture, Brooks in the same article has a list of meanings for the word, and assigns a number to each one as follows:

$Culture_1$ - biological growth

$Culture_2$ - personal refinement

$Culture_3$ - literature and the fine arts

$Culture_4$ - patterns of living

$Culture_5$ - the sum total of a way of life

In another article,[10] Nelson Brooks indicates that there are two different ultimate sources of the patterns of thought and action, of belief and behavior according to which we lead our daily lives (i.e. $culture_4$). One of these sources, he says, is called Olympian. Olympian culture is referred to when we think of the contents of museums, exhibits of pictures, displays of statues, orchestras, theatrical reproductions, ballet dancing, or lectures on literature and the arts. The other source is called Hearthstone culture

---

[9]Nelson Brooks, "Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom", *Foreign Language Annals*, I,5 (March 1968):204-17, page 210 quoted.

[10]Nelson Brooks, "Culture - A New Fronteer", *Foreign Language Annals*, 5,1 (October 1971):54-61.

and is referred to when we talk about the native language of a people, the do's and don't's of personal behavior, the pecking order, the giving way to others, or the way to work, save, play, to win approval, or to maintain one's emotional balance.

Seeing above that language is closely related to culture,[11] and that culture includes many various aspects, the language teacher will have to find a way to integrate culture to language classes in order to help the learner achieve an understanding as complete as possible of the people he is learning the language of. He has to lead the learner to have a substantial knowledge of specific facts mentioned above concerning the culture, some understanding of the main patterns of thought, beliefs, and traditions, and some appreciation of the values that account for the way the people of that culture live and behave.[12] He must be able to point out to the latter the significance of the accomplishments of the people as well as describe the way the people eat, drink, exercise; how they cater to their personal (artistic, educational, or social) or religious needs.

In order to have sufficient material to provide himself with many cultural units to present in class, the language teacher can just organize his personal experience according to Edward T. Hall's *Map of Culture*.[13] The map of culture is an analysis of culture in the form of a diagram. The ten

---

[11]In 1871, Sir Edward Taylor, in his *Primitive Cultures*, defined culture as: "...the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capacities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Reprinted in *The Origins of Culture*. New York: Harper Torch Book, 1958.

[12]For a cross-cultural training technique, see, for example, James F. Downs, *Fables, Fancies and Failures in Cross-Cultural Training. Trends Volume 1, No. 2.* Hilo: Peace Corps Training Program, 1968.

[13]Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language*. New York: Doubleday, 1959.

"primary message systems", as Hall calls the salient points of culture, are listed both vertically and horizontally, yielding a checkerboard grid of 100 squares, each symbolizing the interrelationship of one "primary message system" to all of the others. The list is as follows: (1) Interaction; (2) Association; (3) Subsistence; (4) Bisexuality; (5) Temporality; (6) Territoriality; (7) Learning; (8) Play; (9) Defense; (10) Exploitation. If this approach is thought of not going far enough toward supplying him with the relevance which will be adequate enough for the classroom teaching of culture, the teacher can also check the profile of a culture through Nelson Brooks" list[14] composed also of ten dimensions: (1) Symbolism; (2) Value; (3) Authority; (4) Order; (5) Ceremony; (6) Love; (7) Honor; (8) Humor; (9) Beauty; (10) Spirit. Once he has had the materials, he will also have to think of his classroom techniques of presenting them to his students, a matter I shall take up in the next paragraph.

3

With the aims of teaching culture right along with language (pronunciation, grammar, limited vocabulary and some reading at the beginning, and reading and discussions in the target language later on), the classroom techniques feature experience-based, intensive instruction and research, with emphasis on the applied uses of the foreign language to be learned in true-to-life situations.

The advocated culture program can be subdivided into three phases: the beginning phase including the regular two first levels of language as

[14]See note 9 above.

is the case in Hawaii, the intermediate phase equated with the third level of language, and the advanced phase parallel to the fourth level of language.

In the beginning phase, the unit of culture study as well as language learning is the dialogue. It must be contextually based and experientially relevant.[15] The experiential techniques are to let the student act out the dialogue and go through the drills (substitutional, expansional, transformational, or question-answer types), not automatically but with his interest vested in the vocabulary relevant to real life.[16] Since the use of language calls for the contribution of the whole personality,[17] the class should be the "scene of various activities."[18] It should be "a society in miniature"[19] where each student is a living, experiencing, and active person, and not just a receptor of the content of the course.[20] The experiential techniques

---

[15]Fr. Closset says: "A pupil tends to remember only what he actually experienced and what is in harmony with his personality" ('Adolescents and Modern Languages', in *The Teaching of Modern Languages* (Proceedings of UNESCO Seminar in Ceylon, 1953), Amsterdam: Drukkerjj, 1955.

[16]For an example, see Dwight Gradin and Nguyen Dang Liem, *Vietnamese One-Thought Comprehension Drills*, Honolulu: Asia Training Center, University of Hawaii, 1969. Mimeographed, being expanded to be published as a beginning text in Vietnamese.

[17]W.A. Bennett says: "The use of language calls for the contribution of the whole personality", *Aspects of Language and Language Teaching*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.71.

[18]Fr. Closset, "Adolescents and Modern Languages", see note 15.

[19]R. Valnir C. Chagas, *Didatica Especial de Lingua Modernas*. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1957, p.337.

[20]Earl W. Stevick, in "B + VSP, or After BC + PS + AP, What", *Language Sciences*, 6, August 1969, pp.9-10 quotes: "the teaching of a language should be considered more as imparting a skill than as the provision of information..." from the *Report Seminar on the Methodology of Teaching*, p.50.

enable us to give a cultural dimension[21] to every language class by asking our students questions such as: Where are we? Who is present? What is the interrelationship between one person and another? Upon what is attention focused? How is language used? When those present address each other, are the forms used intimate or polite? Are proper names spoken? What formulas of politeness appear, what requests, what directives? What types of kinesics?[22]

The next important concern in the beginning phase is to see how language itself is studied and learned in the target culture, and to appropriately adapt such procedures to the American classrooms. This concern has to do with the correctness of pronunciation, the rightness of grammatical structures, orthography, and semantic precisions. While dealing with these linguistic aspects, we may also turn to proverbs, sayings and idiomatic expressions[23] that are known to every native speaker and representative of the way the people think, behave, or look at cosmological phenomena. Naturally, the classroom in this beginning phase can be also decorated with posters, pictures, maps, signs, and realia of many kinds that involve not only participation but also questions, criticisms, evaluation, and comparision with the native culture of the student.

---

[21]For more information on the experiencial techniques, see *Cross-Cultural Training, A Draft Book.* Estes Park, Colorado: Center for Research and Education, May 1969.

[22]Jerald R. Green, "A Focus Report: Kinesics in the Foreign-Language Classroom", *Foreign Language Annals,* 5,1 (October 1971):62-68.

[23]For the use of proverbs in pronunciation, see, for example, Nguyen Dang Liem, *Vietnamese Pronunciation.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970. For examples of idiomatic expressions, see Nguyen Dang Liem, *Four-Syllable Idiomatic Expressions in Vietnamese.* Honolulu: East-West Center, 1969.

In the intermediate phase, the central format of the lesson is a reading text[24] presenting a cultural topic which may be a folk tale representative of the cosmological, ethical, or religious concepts of the people, or a true-to-nature geographic setting, historical events and personalities, the arts and crafts. Dialogues and related conversations are to reinforce the knowledge of new vocabulary items, idiomatic expressions and sentence patterns as well as to compare the new culture traits with one's own.

Whereas the intermediate phase calls for texts that are carefully graded in terms of vocabulary and grammatical structures, the advanced phase allows relatively free selections of excerpts from writings of well-known native authors and men of letters.[25] The excerpts, being written by the people and for a native audience, enable the student to better understand the main patterns of thought, beliefs, traditions, and values that account for the way the people live and behave. The texts consequently give the student greater empathy with the people and deeper appreciation of their culture while presenting the diverse aspects of the national heritage ranging from the physical milieu and agriculture to the religious and moral universe, the people, the language and the literature, the theatre and the arts, the traditional festivals, as well as folklore and folk songs. The reading of the texts is to be followed by impromtu discussions about the same cultural aspects or about similar aspects in the culture of the students conducted in

[24]For examples, see Nguyen Dang Liem, *Intermediate Vietnamese, Volume I* and *Intermediate Vietnamese, Volume II*. South Orange, N.J.: Seton Hall University Press, 1971.

[25]For example, see Nguyen Dang Liem, *Advanced Vietnamese, A Culture Reader*. South Orange, N.J.: Seton Hall University Press, forthcoming.

the target language, or by pre-prepared oral presentations of similar topics by the students.

4

The insertion of culture to language classes at the beginning phase will be more authentically done if native speakers of the target languages are employed as language instructors or drillers.[26] A coordinator, who must be trained and experienced in the field of intensive aural-oral methodology, including program design, staff training, and overall supervision,[27] will be in charge of the course. He will participate in the inductive aspect of the course, and direct the congnitive-informational aspect of the course by asking the questions on culture mentioned above for example. He will also guide the students' reading in the culture as well as direct the preparation of cultural video-tapes and case studies for cross-cultural training purposes.

5

With a comprehensive program of language and culture program including the variety in pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, culture, and literature of a Southeast Asian language, the Western student has a task that is not easy, but which is at the same time rewarding, because it opens the door to one of the richest heritages of thought, and experience of the human race.

---

[26]The drill masters should normally have to be native speakers of the language being taught, because the students have to imitate them in all aspects of language and culture. Furthermore, the drill masters should be able to write supplementary exercises under the linguistically oriented supervision of the professional coordinator.

[27]Even when basic courses are written in the most enlightened way, the frustration remains that "the language teacher is not likely to find a textbook adjusted to his needs," W.A. Bennett, *Aspects of Language and Language Teaching*, p.108. Therefore, the coordinator should be able to direct the preparation of supplementary materials.

The important work of integrating culture in Southeast Asian classes in the Western world calls for intensive research in anthropology, and cross-cultural studies as well as pedagogy. Close international cooperation is needed to enable the Southeast Asian language teaching and research centers to exchange ideas, specialists and study teams with similar organization throughout the world. In this connection, may I personally congratulate all the colleagues who have made this session on "Integrating Culture in Programs for Less Commonly Taught Asian Languages" possible, and may I wish the best of luck to the newly organized American Conference of Teachers of Uncommon Asian Languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[A partial listing of books and articles that deal with the problem of teaching culture or are representative of sources from which basic concepts may be derived.]

Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, Volume II. Edited by Dale L. Lange. (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1970)

Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, Volume III, 1971. "Cultural Pluralism". Include, for the most part, materials of a practical as well as theoretical nature of value to all foreign language teachers.

Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education, Volume I, 1969, pp. 38-81. The bibliographies recommended by Seelye as being of particular interest to the classroom teacher of language.

Cultural Understanding: Spanish level I. Hayward, Calif.: Alamada County Dept., 1969. The introductory by Reid Scott would be helpful to teachers of all languages.

"The Study of Foreign Language and Culture in the Host Environment." *Modern Language Journal, 53* (May 1969), 305-26. A cluster of five articles dealing with the teaching of culture in overseas language programs for American students. J.C. Catford, Renzo Titone, Michael Beaujour, Nelson Brooks, and Virginia Allen.

Teacher's Notebook in Modern Foreign Languages, distributed by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich School Department (Spring 1966). Note particularly "Culture and Language Instruction", by Nelson Brooks and the short bibliography.

Aarons, Alfred C., Barbara Y. Gordon, and William A. Stewards, eds. *Linguistic and Cultural Differences and American Education.* The Florida Foreign Language Report, 7, No. 1 (1969) deals with problems of sub-cultures as they relate to communication within and across cultural boundaries.

Adorno, Elvira. "The Use of Folklore and Other Materials in the Motivation or Presentation of a Lesson". *Italica 28* (June 1951). ERIC RIE (Feb 1971) 47.

Beaujour, M. and J. Ehrmann. "A Semiotic Approach to Culture". *Foreign Language Annals.* December 1967.

Birdwhistell, Ray L. *Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.

Bishop, G. Reginald, Jr., ed. *Culture in Language Learning.* Northeastern Conference NEC 60, 1960.

Blanch, E.J. "Dramatics in the Foreign Language Classroom." ERIC Focus Report No. R23, 1971.

Bordie, John G. "Cultural Sensitivity Training for the Teacher of Spanish-Speaking Children", 11p. [paper read at the Third Annual TESOL Convention, Chicago 5-8 March 1969]. ERIC RIE (Sep 1969) 21

Brooks, Nelson. "Language and Culture". *Language and Language Learning.* pp. 82-96. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.

Brooks, Nelson. *Culture and Language Instruction.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966.

Brooks, Nelson. "Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom". *Foreign Language Annals,* I, 5:204-17 (March 1968).

Brooks, Nelson. "Culture - A New Fronteer". *Foreign Language Annals,* 5, 1: 54-61. (October 1971).

Brown, R.W. "Developing Cultural Understanding through Foreign Language Study: A Report of the MLA Interdisiciplinary Seminar in Language and Culture". PMLA 68 (Dec 1953). ERIC RIE (May 1969) 48.

Donoghue, Mildred R. *Foreign Languages and the Schools: A Book of Readings.* Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, 1967. "Culture Studies", Chpater viii, pp. 229-49. With an article by Robert Lado on "Enculturation versus Education in Foreign Language Teaching", and a presentation by Howard Lee Nostrand on the role of curriculum planner as it relates to the cross-cultural preparation of language students.

Doorslaer, Marguerite P. van. "Languages and Culture". *Accent on ACTFL.* 2, ii:4-6

Dundes, Alan. "Flok Ideas as Units of Worldview". *Journal of American Folklore.* 84:93-103.

Edgerton, M., Jr. "The Study of Languages: A Point of View". *Liberal Education,* 51, vi:1-9 (1965)

Feldman, Thalia Phillies. "Caesar and Cultural Integration". *Canisius Coll. Lang. Methods Newsletter* 4 (Dec 1966). ERIC RIE (Jun 1969) 20.

Fisher, Glen. *Philosophy and Science in Foreign Affairs: The Behavioral Science Component.* A Foreign Service Institute Training Document. Washington, D.C.: Department of State, 1966.

Fleissner, Else M., et al. "Four Cultures". Selective and annotated bibliographies. *Publications of the MLA,* 79, iv, part 2 (1964): 18-49.

Ford, Clellan S., ed. *Cross-Cultural Approaches, Readings in Comparative Research.* New Haven: HRAF Press, 1967.

Gleeson, Patrick and Nancy Wakefield. *Language and Culture: A Reader.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co., 1968.

Goulet, Denis. "An Ethical Model for the Study of Values". *Harvard Educational Review,* 41:205-27.

Green, J.R. "Kinesics in the FL Classroom". ERIC Focus Report No. R24, 1971.

Green, Jerald R. "A Focus Report: Kinesics in the Foreign-Language Classroom". *Foreign Language Annals,* 5,1:62-8 (Oct 1971).

Hall, E.T., Jr., and George L. Trager. *The Analysis of Culture.* Washington, D.C., pre-publication edition, 1953.

Hall, Edward T. *The Silent Language.* New York: Doubleday, 1959.

Henle, Paul, ed. *Language, Thought, and Culture.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958.

Hsu, Francis L.K. *Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life.* New York: Schumann, 1953.

Hymes, Dell. *Language in Culture and Society, A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964.

Hymes, Dell. "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research". *Journal of American Folklore.* 84:42-50.

Hymes, Dell. *Cross-Cultural Differences in the Role of Language: An Exploration of Ethnographic Literature.* Final Report. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

Jay, Charles, and Pat Castle, eds. *French Language Education: The Teaching of Culture in the Classroom.* Springfield, Ill.: State Dept. of Public Instruction, Division of Instruction, 1971. A collection of 11 articles which cover aspects of the teaching of culture from FLES to university level.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. *Mirror for Man.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949.
Kroeber, A.L. *Anthropology Today.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
Kroeber, A.L., and Clyde Kluckhohn. *Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions.* New York: Random House, Vintage-226. (First published by Harvard University Press, 1952.)
Lado, Robert. *Linguistics Across Cultures.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957.
Lander, Herbert. *Language and Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
Lenneberg, Eric H., ed. *New Directions in the Study of Language.* Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1964.
Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966. "Culture et relations humaines". *L'Educ.* 102:10-2.
Leward, H. Ernest. "A Tentative Outline of Problems in the Knowledge, Understanding, and Teaching of Cultures to the Target Language". *Modern Language Journal* 52 (May 1968). ERIC RIE (Aug 1969) 52.
Linton, Ralph. *The Study of Man: An Introduction.* New York: Appleton, 1936.
Logan, Gerald E. "A Comment on Including Culture in Individualized Foreign Language Program". *Foreign Language Annals,* 5,1:99-107. (Oct 1971).
De Madariaga, Salvador. *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards.* London: Oxford U.P., 1928.
Mead, Margaret. *And Keep Your Powder Dry.* New York: Morrow, 1942.
Morain, Genelle. *French Culture: The Folklore Facet.* ERIC Focus Report No. 9.
Morris, C. *Varieties of Human Value.* Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1956.
Munoz, Olivia. *Songs in the FL Classroom.* ERIC Focus Report No. 12.
Northeastern Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. *Culture in Language Learning.* Reports of the Working Committee, 1960. G. Reginald Bishop, Jr., ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P. 1960.
Opler, M.E. "Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture". *American Journal of Sociology,* 51 (1945) 198-206.
Parsons, Talcott. *Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied.* New York: The Free Press, 1954.
Reboulet, Andre. "Pour un enseignement comparatif en civilization". In Debyser, Francis, and Bernard Pottier, eds. *Comparaison des langues et enseignement du francais. Francais dans le Monde.* 81:6-75.
Sapir, Edward. *Language, Culture, and Personality.* Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1936..
Sackett, Theodore A. "The Place of Culture in Foreign Language Instruction: A Practical View". *Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association,* 24 (1970) 177-81.
Seelye, H. Ned. "Analysis and Teaching of Cross-Cultural Context". *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education,* Ed. Emma Birkmaier. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968, pp.37-81.
Seelye, H. Ned. "Performance Objectives for Teaching Cultural Concepts". *Foreign Language Annals,* 3 (May 1970) 566-78.
Seward, Jack. *Japanese in Action: An Unorthodox Approach to Spoken Language and the People Who Speak it.* New York: Walker, 1969. A refreshing approach to cultural analysis through language.
Sherrow, R. *Behavioral Objectives in FL Instruction.* ERIC Focus Report No. R25, 1971.
Troyanovich, John M. "Foreign Languages and the Dodo Bird: A Lesson from Darwin", *Foreign Language Annals,* 5,3:34-44 (May 1972).

UNESCO. *Interrelations of Cultures: Their Contributions to International Understanding*. Paris, 1953.

Vygotsky, L.S. *Thought and Language*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1962.

Whorf, B.L. *Language, Thought, and Reality*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1956.

Wylie, Laurence, et al. *Six Cultures*. Selective and annotated bibliographies. New York: Modern Language Association, 1961.

THE ASPECT OF CULTURE THROUGH THE TEACHING OF BAHASA INDONESIA

David S. Sjafiroeddin
Ohio University

1. Introduction

It is generally agreed that a living language cannot be taught in a vacuum without focussing extensively on the culture of the people who use the language. From my experience in teaching the Indonesian language, I have derived great pleasure in imparting my knowledge of the culture with students of the language.

In this short paper I would like to share with you some of the ways in which the language itself gives clues which help us to understand the culture, and the way I try to use the language to depict both the social and historical dimensions of the culture of the people.

2. How the Language Itself Teaches the Culture

a. Foreign Words

From the very first day of class the students are exposed to the history of Indonesian culture. The first thing I stress with my students is how to address me, namely to use the phrase *Pak Guru*. The word *guru* (teacher), derived from Sanskrit, is well known among American young people today. Soon they learn about other Indonesian words of Sanskrit origin, such as *bahasa* (language) and *saya* (I), and of Chinese origin, as *nyonya* (madam) and *toko* (shop); of Persian origin, as *jam* (clock) and *baju* (coat); of Tamil origin, as *kedai* (stall) and *macam* (sort); of Arab origin, as *kabar* (news) and *pikir* (to think); of Portuguese origin, as *meja* (table) and *jendela*

(window); of English origin, as *botol* (bottle) and *pensil* (pencil); of Dutch origin, as *kamar* (room) and *bioskop* (cinema); and of American origin, as *silet* (razorblade) and *mobil* (automobile). As the students advance in the study of the Indonesian language, they quickly learn that these words are the result of the influence of foreign cultures and words which diffused within Indonesian culture. It also appears that words are like people; they are born, live for a certain period, become old and finally die a natural death. The indigenous word *hulubalang*, for example, which depicts a person of high position in government, army and police, is on the verge of dying, and is being replaced by more modern words, like: *jenderal* (general), *letnan kolonel* (lieutenant colonel), *perwira* (officer), *polisi* (police) and *bupati* (district officer). Some of the borrowed words are disappearing too, for example the Persian *nakhoda* (skipper) which is being replaced by the Indo-Germanic *kapten* (captain).

Students are startled to learn that many English words in their assimilated forms are commonly used in the Indonesian language; for example: *revolusi* (revolution), *konfrontasi* (confrontation), *konstitusi* (constitution), *demonstrasi* (demonstration), *industrialisasi* (industrialization), and many more. These words represent new ideas which were lacking in the Indonesian culture. Words like *listrik* (electricity) and *telpon* (telephone) are borrowed and appear today in a new form fitting the sound patterns of the Indonesian language; others like *gas* (gas) and *motor* (motor) are borrowed but retain the original form, though pronunciation is quite different. These new words are enriching the Indonesian language, and therefore, no serious objection should arise in using them.

In addition, there are borrowed words which do not follow native morphological rules. These words, usually verbs, do not follow the rule of disposition of the first letter when preceded by the prefix *me-* to become an active verb; for example: *memparkir* (to park) and not *memarkir*; *mentik* (to type) and not *menik*.

b. Personal Names

Another example of how language teaches culture is apparent in the way that personal names applied in the lessons depict the variety of ethnic groups living as one nation in Indonesia. People carrying the names of *Wongsonegoro* and *Djojokusumo* are definitely Javanese from Central or East Java; *Widjaja* and *Wiranataatmadja* are Sundanese from West Java; *Sihombing* and *Simatupang* are Bataks from Northern Sumatra; *Sutan Mahmud* and *Datuk Meringgih* are from Central Sumatra; *Pereira* and *Pattipeilohy* are from Ambon, etc.

Other names indicate past or present relation to religion. The Javanese Muslim *Gatot Subroto* and the Menangkabau Muslim *Sutan Maharadja* both show past relation with Hinduism; the Malay *Abu Bakar* and the Makasarese *Hasanudin* indicate Islamic affiliation; the Menadonese *Hans B. Jassin* and the Javanese *Willibrordus S. Rendra* show respectively their Protestant and Catholic affiliation.

What is also important, but will be difficult to teach in U.S., is the fact that proper names are associated not only with ethnic group but also with dialects in Bahasa Indonesia, namely Javanese Indonesian, Batak Indonesian, etc.

c. Titles

People with status--socially as well as religiously--receive titles or honorific names. These titles are placed before or after the personal

names. *RADEN ADJENG Kartini* and *RADEN MAS Soeparto* are Javanese titles and names of a woman and a man of nobility; *PUTI* or *PUTRI Ramlah* and *SUTAN Alamsjah Bimbing TUANKU PALIMO gelar DATUK RADJO BUDJANG* are the titles and names of a Menangkabau woman and man of nobility; *BORU PASARIBU* and *RAJA BONA NIONAN* are titles and names of a Batak woman and man of nobility; *RATU DALAM Dedapan* and *ANAK AGUNG Made* are Balinese; *CUT Meuthia* and *TEUKU Daudsjah* are from Aceh.

Some examples of religious titles include: *HAJI Sulaiman, KYAI Mansur,* and *SYEKH Muhammad* are Muslim leaders; *IDA BAGUS Anom* was the name of a Hindu priest in Bali; *GURU Hatiabulan* is an old name showing the mystical past of a Batak religious leader.

To reinforce the understanding of the meaning or the use of these titles one might want to provide "level-switching" exercises.

d. <u>The Second Singular Personal Pronoun "You"</u>

A significant phenomenon in the Indonesian language is the unstable position of the second singular personal pronoun. Although the words *engkau* and *kamu* exist in the language, Indonesians are hesitant to address anyone, whether superior, equal or inferior, with these words. Indonesians feel that these words contain an element of disrespect toward the person addressed. This question seems to be related to the fact that status, honor and respect play a very important role in the life of Indonesians and therefore they want to be known by their proper name and/or title. An Indonesian is more than a "you", a singular entity; he belongs to his family, his community, and his position. For example, among the Menangkabau people every young man receives a title when he is married and thereafter he is always addressed with this name. A married Menangkabau woman is often spoken to as *Rangkayo* which

literally means "wealthy person". The respect toward parents by children is an ancient unwritten law. Parents and older people are not addressed by their own name, but other words showing respect are always used. In some places a parent might be known by the name of his child. For example, *Pak Sulaiman* would not be named *Sulaiman* but rather he would be the father of *Sulaiman*. Government authorities are often spoken to as *Bapak* or *Pak* meaning "father", and their wives as *ibu* or *Bu*, "mother". Children also expect to be addressed by their proper name, or sometimes they are called by their position in the family, such as *adik* (younger brother or sister), *kakak* (older brother or sister), or *abang* or *bung* (older brother). Even a person of the lowest level in the community, *bung becak* (rickshaw man) expects to be respected by others. To honor those *bung becaks* who played an important role in the revolution of 1945-1949, President Soekarno elevated the term *bung* -- which in the mind of some people is integrally related to *becak* -- by calling himself *Bung Karno*. In this way he showed the importance of honor and respect in the Indonesian way of life. No one is to be addressed as *kamu* or *engkau*, not even to *bung becak*.

Modern Indonesians themselves feel awkward in not being able to apply the second singular pronoun in their daily conversations. The Dutch word "jij" and "U" were used during the colonial period and are still used in a few places. The English "you" is now being applied by a few. There is a new word, *anda*, which was created to try to introduce one universal term for the second singular pronoun, but this seems to have been accepted for use only in advertisements. All these substitutes lead to no real solution to the problem because once they are accepted to mean "you" in a general sense they fall into the same category as the older forms of *engkau* and *kamu*, and are regarded in poor taste when used.

At present, *tuan* (sir) and *saudara* (brother) are the most acceptable substitute for "you". However, they cannot be used indiscriminately. In Central and East Java the word *tuan* reminds one of the colonial era. In Sumatra, on the other hand, *tuan* is thought to be closely related to *Tuanku* or *Paduka Tuan*, or *Paduka Tuan Yang Mulia* (Your Excellency), titles used to address someone of the highest rank. In Indonesia in general, and in rural Java especially, *Pak* is more acceptable. In Java's cities the Dutch word "oom" (uncle) is often used. The Hokien Chinese "lu" is only used by the lower class in Jakarta and should be regarded as rather rude and not acceptable at all among educated persons. Javanese, and often Chinese use the second level Javanese word *sampeyan* which seems to have gained some degree of acceptance in Central and East Java.

The cause of the restricted use of "you" seems to have its origin in the importance given to status, honor, and respect in Indonesian life. Whatever other reasons might exist for avoiding the use of "you" the result is the same, in that the structure of Indonesian syntax is effected and the objective structure is one of the language's most important forms of sentence structure.

e. Connotative Meaning

The colloquial and vernacular phrases that are used in the Indonesian language indicate something about the character of the people. Indonesians are said to be reserved or "on guard". They do not seem to open their real feelings. On the other hand they do not seem to be cold but rather lighthearted and often easy-going. To "keep face" is an important element of Indonesian culture because it could effect the "good-name" of the speaker, his family and his community in which he lives. Hospitality towards strangers and concerns for the well-being of neighbors are other qualities

of Indonesian culture. One greets people with *Apa kabar*? Literally this means "What is the news?", but depending on the circumstances the question could mean "How are you?" or "What can I do for you?" The first two translations of the phrase is always answered with *Baik* (good, fine) or *Kabar baik* (good news, I am fine), regardless of how one is really feeling. An Indonesian would never express bad feelings to anyone unless he is very close. A language mask is utilized by answering that "everything is fine".

Another phrase that tells something about the culture of the Indonesian people is the greeting *Sudah makan*? (Have you had your meal?). This is usually answered in the affirmative *Sudah* (I have had my meal). To answer with *Belum* (not yet) would lead to many consequences. First, it forces the questioner into the circumstances in which he has to supply the other with food, and consequently creating an embarrassing situation if there is no proper food to be offered; secondly, by saying that he has not yet eaten might infer that he was not able to provide himself with food which might jeopardize his standing in the community. On the other hand, if he answers with *Sudah* (Yes, I have eaten), whether he has or not, indicates that he is able to provide himself with food and is not burdening his host, but he also knows that he will be offered something which he may not refuse, since to refuse would mean to refuse *rezeki baik* (good luck) and would insult his host.

A phrase that is related to this area of food and eating could prove to be very embarrassing to a Westerner. An utterance of great compliment to someone would be to call him/her *gemuk* (fat). It is always a fine expression to compliment a man by telling him he has a "fat" wife. In a land where food is scarce and people are physically short and slightly built it is indeed fortunate to be fat which means to them good health and prosperity.

3. How the Language Can Be Used to Teach the Culture

When studying language students are given drills and dialogues -- the latter sometimes accompanied by "acting out the situation" -- which reflect the culture of the people whose language they are studying. This greatly enriches the students' grasp and appreciation of the language and certainly makes some of the tedious work of drilling more enjoyable.

Stories and exercises that tell of the type of weather, something of the geography, of the food that is eaten, the clothes that are worn, the houses that are lived in, and the religious and national holidays, all add important background for understanding the people and their culture as well as learning the language. Dialogues that take place at weddings, births, entering a new home and religious feasts all show the importance that Indonesians place on these events. Stories and exercises that point out large families, familial values, importance of family decisions, and the effects on one incident on the entire family can point out to the students the importance the family plays in Indonesian life and culture.

There are certain expressions that can be used in stories and lesson materials to show aspects of *adat* (tradition, custom, law) and its spirit of *gotong-royong* (mutual help), for example: *Marilah kita memotong padi Pak Karto* (Let us harvest Park Karto's rice), or *Tiap-tiap orang mesti memperbaiki jalan desa* (Every one must repair the village road). Using these phrases in a story and explaining their meaning will introduce the spirit of communal living and sharing work that is so much a part of the Indonesian way of life.

3. Conclusion

At the end of their first year of studying Indonesian -- a course that consisted of 120 contact hours in the classroom -- one of my classes was

asked to relate what they knew of the culture of the Indonesian people. I was pleased with their answers. The majority of their statements included geographical data, the way Indonesians spend their time at work and at play; the hard struggle for existence; and the solidarity and compactness of family and community life. The students at the elementary level had learned the language well, but I also learned that much more was needed to be included in the further study of the language to get a better understanding of the culture. As a professional language teacher therefore I feel it is important to place more stress on cultural matter. To accomplish this objective I might suggest the following:

1. to use pictures or slides; if this is properly done it will automatically teach the cultural meaning of dialogues, phrases and even words;
2. to have regularly scheduled time to teach the cultural aspect of language either at the end of each session or a special session.

This objective and method will definitely make for a better understanding of not only the culture but also the people, and will be a motivating force for the new student who wishes to know more than just the vocabulary and grammar of another language.

SOME CULTURAL AND GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF GENDER IN HINDI AND URDU*

Carlo Coppola

Oakland University

For most American students who, by accident of birth, live in an overwhelmingly monolingual environment, the notion of grammatical gender is often confounding and perplexing. Gender is, they reason, a matter of sex: what is sexually male is "masculine"; what is sexually female is "feminine." Hence, when they come upon feminine *nauta*, "sailor" in Latin, or neuter *Mädchen*, "girl" in German, they tend to back away in a mild daze, slightly confused.

While we are a bit beyond the explanations of gender given by language teachers of a generation ago ("What is large and tough is masculine; what is small and delicate is feminine"), the student is not greatly helped in his understanding of grammatical gender with the statement "That's the way it is." In any event, the student must memorize the gender of every noun. If in this process he is made to understand that sexual and grammatical gender, while sometimes coterminous, are not synonymous, the student will have accomplished no mean task.

Gender is a grammatical feature of Hindi and Urdu, the language, or languages, spoken on the Indian subcontinent by some 240 million people, thus making it/them the third most widely spoken language/languages in the

---

*I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Vasant Khokle of Michigan State University for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

world after Chinese and English. These languages as we shall call them, the subject of a great deal of political and religious controversy in India and Pakistan, are mutually intelligible on the spoken, vernacular levels.[2] In their written forms, particularly in their literary aspect, the two languages diverge widely. Hindi, written in the Devanagari script, looks to Sanskrit for its intellectual and literary vocabulary, as well as its literary images and modes of expression. Urdu, on the other hand, is written in a modified Persio-Arabic script, usually called Nastaliq, and goes to Persian and Arabic for its intellectual vocabulary and literary images. Slight grammatical differences also exist between these two languages, differences which are quite minimal, in fact, given the large numbers of speakers of each language and the relatively underdeveloped mass media in these two countries. One such grammatical difference between Hindi and Urdu appears in each language's treatment of gender. This difference, while slight, can be looked at from both a synchronic as well as a diachronic point of view in explaining it to students. It is to the context of one problem of grammatical gender in these two languages which we shall address ourselves in this paper.

---

[1]Figures regarding the number of speakers of these languages vary widely. As of June 1968 the number of speakers of Hindi was set at 181 million and of Urdu at 55 million; however, Rajasthani, often considered a dialect of Hindi, was listed as having 17 million speakers. See *Hindustan Year-Book and Who's Who, 1971*, ed. S. Sarkar (Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1971), p. 162. In 1964 estimates were 158 million for Hindi and 53 million for Urdu. See *Hindustan Year-Book and Who's Who, 2964*, ed. S. Sarkar (Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1964), p. 357. The increase of Hindi from 158 million to 181 million and of Urdu from 53 to 55 million during the same period suggests the unreliability of such figures.

[2]For an excellent discussion of these levels of language, see John J. Gumperz and C.M. Naim, "Formal and Informal Standards in the Hindi Regional Language Area," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XXVI, No. 3 (July 1960), 92-117, in the issue "Linguistic Diversity in South Asia: Studies in Regional, Social and Functional Variation," ed. Charles A. Ferguson and John J. Gumperz.

In standard Hindi and Urdu, our concern in this paper, there are gender markers in the verb. There must be an agreement between the subject of the sentence and the verb in certain direct constructions. For example, if one were to say: "We go to the market," one would have to know the gender of "we" in order to utter the sentence. If "we" is masculine, the sentence would be:

ham baazaar jaatee haiN[3]

The glosses for this utterance are: *ham* = we; *baazaar* = market, *jaa-* = root of the verb "to go"; *-t-* = mark of the present participle; *-ee* = masculine plural marker; *haiN* = are, consisting of *hai* plus nasalization (a plural marker in the verb "to be" and in other verb constructions). As with nearly all Hindi sentences, this utterance follows a subject-object-verb pattern.

If "we" is feminine, the sentence would be:

ham baazaar jaatii haiN

with the difference that instead of *jaatee* we have *jaatii*, the feminine marker in the present participle. Thus,

ham baazaar jaatee haiN

ham baazaar jaatii haiN

A Hindi speaker would translate these utterance as "We [masculine] go to the market" and "We [feminine] go to the market," respectively. An Urdu speaker, however, would react differently. He would translate *ham baazaar jaatee haiN* as "We [masculine *or* feminine] go to the bazaar." The utterance containing

[3]The transliteration scheme used here is approximately that devised by C.M. Naim in his *Readings in Urdu: Prose and Poetry* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1965), pp. 203-209. *-N* in this scheme indicates nasalization.

the feminine form, *ham baazaar jaatii haiN*, would be considered incorrect or, worse, "inelegant" Urdu, or not Urdu at all, but rather Hindi.

Let us consider another example. The statement "We understand" or "We do not understand" can be rendered idiomatically into Hindi in either the masculine or feminine forms, depending on the sexual gender of the speaker. In addition, the statement is rendered in the past tense in Hindi, as opposed to the present of English:

samajh gaee	and	nahiiN samjhee
We (masculine understood)		We (masculine) did not understand.

The glosses for these utterances are: *ham* = we, but understood and not stated; *samajh* = root of the verb *samajhnaa*, "to understand"; *gaee* = the inflected form of *jaanaa*, "to go," used here as part of a compound verb construction indicating, among other things, emphasis on the action of the main verb *samajhnaa* and a carrier of tense and gender; *ga-* = the past participial stem of *jaanaa*; *-ee* = the masculine plural marker; *nahiiN* = negative particle. (It should be noted that a vowel deletion occurs in the negative form *samjhee*, as opposed to *samajh* in the positive utterance; because of the negative particle one cannot use a compound verb construction as in the affirmative; this is a minor point of grammar and does not in any way change the point we wish to establish here.)

In addition, the statements can also be made by women, requiring feminine grammatical gender, thus changing the forms above to:

samajh gaiiN	and	nahiiN samjhiiN
We (feminine) understood.		We (feminine) did not understand.

with *-ii-* in *gaiiN* and *samjhiiN* as feminine markers and *-N*, nasalization, as a plural marker. Thus,

samajh gaee	and	nahiiN samjhee
samajh gaiiN	and	nahiiN samjhiiN

These forms, however, apply only to Hindi and not to Urdu. The Urdu speaker would admit the masculine forms for both men and women speakers; the feminine forms would carry with them the same negative connotations as did *jaatii* in our earlier discussion.

At this point it is important to note that these differences in masculine and feminine forms occur only in the first person plural forms of the verbs. Both Hindi and Urdu have identical masculine and feminine forms of the verb in the remainder of the paradigm. For example:

I go.	maiN jaataa huuN (masculine)
	maiN jaatii huuN (feminine)
You (informal) go.	tum jaatee ho (masculine)
	tum jaatii ho (feminine)
He/it goes.	vah jaataa hai (masculine)
She/it goes.	vah jaatii hai (feminine)
You (formal) go.	aap jaatee haiN (masculine)
	aap jaatii haiN (feminine)
They go.	ve jaatee haiN (masculine)
	ve jaatii haiN (feminine)

Similarly, the past tense of verbs involving direct constructions shows the same masculine-feminine distinctions in both Hindi and Urdu. We have already noted that only in the first person plural forms would Urdu disallow a feminine utterance such as *samajh gaiiN*.

The logical question arising from this discussion is a simple "Why?" Why does Hindi recognize sexual gender as a determining factor in the first

person plural, while Urdu does not? Why does Urdu insist on only masculine plural markers in the first person plural, even though a woman is referring to herself and other members of her sex? Why should Urdu speakers consider the use of the feminine gender in this context as substandard or inelegant Urdu, or Hindi? Is this a phenomenon and idiosyncrasy of Urdu or is there an explanation for it? Two explanations can be given, both of which throw light upon the linguistic process involved here. The first is a synchronic, linguistic explanation of the problem; the second, a diachronic, cultural definition.

Linguistically speaking, the difference between the first person plural of Hindi and Urdu can be looked at in terms of linguistic universals. First, if there are two genders in natural language, these will be masculine and feminine; of these two, masculine is the more neutral. This is demonstrated by the fact that in languages with gender, the masculine is generally used in speaking of addresses of mixed gender. The all-inclusiveness of the pronoun "we" allows such usage. In the context of Hindi and Urdu, we must also note that speakers--both men and women--will also use *ham jatee haiN*, the first person plural form, when referring to themselves in the singular. An explanation often given for this usage is more philosophical than linguistic: the individual person speaking wishes to obliterate himself into the larger underlying cosmic force of the universe (the *aatman-brahman* distinction of Indian philosophy). While this explanation might have some philosophical substance to it, this phenomenon is best discussed and understood linguistically as a problem of neutralization. In this particular instance, Urdu has neutralized gender distinctions in the first person plural, whereas Hindi has not. In the case of the singular first person addresser referring to himself or

herself in the first person masculine plural, we have further evidence of neutralization in both languages.

Because Hindi does not neutralize as extensively as Urdu in this particular context does not mean that Hindi is free of neutralization. For example, consider the so-called necessitative, or obligatory aspect in both Hindi and Urdu. These are characterized in English by the use of "must" or "have to." For example, the expression *mujhee jaanaa hai*. This would be rendered as "Going is necessary for me" or, in less crabbed English, "I have to go." The glosses for this statement are: *mujhee* = the oblique, or indirect, form of *maiN*, "I" plus the postposition *ko*, which combine into the portmanteau form of *mujhee*; *jaanaa* = the infinitive form of "to go"; *hai* = "is." *Jaanaa* here retains its form with a masculine *-aa* ending.

Consider the utterance *mujhee saaṛii xariidnaa hai*. Glosses here are: *saaṛii* = sari, with its gender marker *-ii*, indicating that it is a feminine noun; *xariidnaa* = the infinitive form of "to buy," with *-naa* the infinitive marker with a masculine singular ending. While the utterance is grammatical in Hindi, translating roughly as "I have to buy saris," it is not grammatical in Urdu, which requires the application of an additional gender agreement rule. In Urdu the infinitive *xariidnaa* must agree in gender with *saaṛii*, thus giving *mujhee saaṛii xariidnii hai*.

With *saaṛii* in the plural, *saaṛiiaaN*, *-aaN* the plural marker of marked feminine nouns (i.e., ones ending in *-ii*), Hindi does not again require any gender or number agreement:

mujhee saaṛiiaaN xariidnaa hai

This translates as "Buying saris is necessary for me," or "I must buy saris."

Urdu, on the other hand, applies an additional gender agreement rule as well as a number agreement rule to generate:

mujhee saaṛiiaaN xariidnii haiN

which translates also as "Buying saris is necessary for me," or "I must buy saris." One notes here that an agreement rule between the direct noun, *saaṛiiaaN*, and the infinitive, *xariidnii*, is operative; in addition there is number agreement between *saaṛiiaaN* and the copula, *haiN*. Thus, the contrasts in the two languages are as follows. In the singular:

mujhee saaṛii xariidnaa hai (Hindi)

mujhee saaṛii xariidnii hai (Urdu)

And in the plural:

mujhee saaṛiiaaN xariidnaa hai (Hindi)

mujhee saaṛiiaaN xariidnii haiN (Urdu)

Here we see that it is Hindi which neutralizes the masculine-feminine gender distinction, as well as the singular-plural distinction. Urdu, on the other hand, requires additional rules to generate its forms, which retain these distinctions of number and gender.

When teaching students these two points, the teacher can speak of what is the predominantly Urdu pattern and what is the predominantly Hindi pattern. Linguistic evidence in the dialects of both languages seems to suggest that both languages are moving in a direction toward neutralization of gender distinctions, though not necessarily in exactly the same constructions.[4] However, since one is striving to teach what is basically a standard language, it is necessary to speak in terms of these irregular synchronic patterns as they exist in the standard language. Theoretically, however, there will be a time in which these irregularities will pass out of the languages and will be treated as irregular diachronic phenomena.

---

[4]Professor Vasant Khokle has indicated to me that the most productive area in which to seek answers to these questions concerning neutralization in both Hindi and Urdu would be among the dialects of these standard languages.

And in mentioning diachronic phenomena, let us look at the second manner in which these irregularities can be explained. This is what we shall term a cultural explanation, and it requires that we go back into the history of these two languages. The term "Hindi" as it is used today refers to that language based on a dialect known as Braj Bhasha spoken in the middle and upper Doab, that area between the Ganges and Jumna rivers (*do* = two; *aab* = river) in Northern India.[5] While there are a number of dialects in this general area, among them Bundeli, Kanauji and Bangaru, it is Braj Bhasha dialect as spoken in the general vicinity of the city of Mathura, a great center of Krishna worship, that serves as the main, though not exclusive, basis for the standard form of this language.

Urdu, on the other hand, developed in India, particularly in the southern, or Deccan, area of the country as a result of the coming of the Muslim invaders from outside India. When the forces of these armies came into contact with the indigenous peoples whom they conquered, a lingua franca sprang up and eventually became known as Urdu. This language possessed a substructure based on the Khari boli dialect of Western Hindi, with a linguistic superstructure borrowed from the languages of the various invaders, including Turkish, Persian and Arabic. In fact, the word *urdū* itself is Turkish for "camp" and is related to our English word "horde," for it was in the invaders' camps that this lingua franca came into being. Large blocks of vocabulary were borrowed, as were a number of phonological items, including

---

[5]Khari boli, it should be pointed out, was also used as a basis for what is referred to today as standard Hindi. This dialect has served as the basis for the writings of the eminent Hindi poet Jayashankar Prasad (1890-1937), a large corpus of whose writings will be presented in English translation in a special issue of *Mahfil, A Quarterly of South Asian Literature* in late 1973. This special issue will be guest edited by Professor Shreeprakash Kurl of the University of British Columbia.

the so-called "Persio-Arabic" sounds: f, x, z, g and q, which did not exist in the indigenous dialects prior to the coming of the Muslim invaders. Very quickly, however, Urdu outgrew its utilitarian usage as a lingua franca and gained currency both as a court language and literary language, first in the courts of the southern Muslim kings, then later in the north among the various rulers, including the Moghul emperor and the court at Lucknow. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Urdu was firmly established as a literary language of considerable prestige; by the nineteenth century it eventually replaced Persian as the court language of the Moghul kings and was given patronage by the British rulers. Hence, Urdu came to hold a place of great prestige among the vernacular languages of India, both literarily and as a lingua franca, but now as a lingua franca such as French was in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. In fact, one commentator even refers to Urdu as the French of India.[6] It is then in the context of this prestige that Urdu speakers would equate certain grammatical structures as substandard or as Hindi. However, the point of prestige is only a partial answer to the larger question at hand. The remainder of the answer lies in the cultural heritage of the Muslim invaders who gave Urdu its birth and prestige. Urdu is the product of a mixed Indian and Muslim culture. As the language of conquerors who eventually settled permanently in the country, Urdu was emulated by the upper echelons of the indigenous population, which was in the main Hindu. It is on the basis of this fact that currency has been given to the inaccurate and fanciful notion that Hindi is the language of Hindus and Urdu the language of Muslims. It should be pointed out that

---

[6]See Ahmed Ali, "Introduction to Urdu Poetry," *Pakistan*, II, No. 2 (Autumn 1948), 26.

there are Hindus who have written and continue to write in Urdu, and there are Muslims who have written and continue to write in Hindi. It should also be understood that in the past the terms "Hindi" and "Urdu" have been used interchangeably, even synonymously, by both Hindus and Muslims and are, as such, rather vague and imprecise in their meaning.[7]

But there is still another aspect of these two cultures which explains the use of the masculine gender by both men and women in the first person plural. Muslim culture was and still is basically homo-social. That is, the sexes are segregated in this society, the men with men, the women with women. In the higher levels of Muslim society women were confined to separate quarters, even within the same family. When these women left their homes they were required to wear a *burqā*, a head-to-foot veil, a Muslim invention which resulted from an overzealous reading of Muhammad's injunction in the Koran which required women to be covered from the neck down. Social and cultural gatherings also exhibited segregation. Men could attend freely; women of quality, if they were allowed at all, were required to sit in rooms screened off in such a way as to allow the women to look out but to prevent the men from looking in. Because this custom was practiced by the rulers, Hindus of upper-class families also adopted *pardah* (literally, "curtain" or "veil"). While this custom is not as prevalent as it used to be, it still exists in various areas in India. Until recently, classrooms in universities

---

[7]Among the vaguest and most imprecise uses of these terms, together with that of "Hindustani," were those by Mahatma Gandhi. In an attempt to keep the Indian subcontinent whole after independence from Britain, he subsumed Urdu under the rubric of Hindi with some rather catastrophic results for Urdu, among them the identification of Urdu as a language used exclusively by Muslims. For an explication of Gandhi's stand on the entire language question prior to independence, see D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, IV (1934-38) (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1952), 22-23, 81-86ff.

with large numbers of Muslim students were specially partitioned to allow the women to sit apart from the men. The important point, however, is that it was the speech of men--more specifically, the speech of men among men--and not the speech of men *and* women that became the standard for Urdu.

Another phenomenon which reenforced this situation also existed in Urdu literature. Early Urdu literature was in many respects a carbon copy of Persian, in both form and content. One distinction, however, is that Persian has no grammatical gender, whereas Urdu does. Hence, when Urdu had to make allowances for gender in poetry, it opted to incorporate masculine grammatical gender to the exclusion of feminine grammatical gender in the literary language. This, of course, could be looked upon as part of this larger phenomenon of neutralization within the language. As a result, however, Urdu poetry may strike the uninitiated Western reader at first glance as thoroughly homosexual, for both lover and beloved are referred to as masculine. This is not the case, however. Just as good Persian poetry, particularly the *ghazal*, a very intricate genre of lyric poetry, was required to be read on two levels--a mystical and a mundane--so too was Urdu poetry. Hence, the Urdu *ghazal* can be read on a purely physical, sexual level and also on a mystical, spiritual level on which God is portrayed as the lover and the poet as the beloved (or vice versa). Both lover and beloved, however, are referred to in the masculine gender, more by poetic convention than by sexual preference. Analogues to such a phenomenon can be found in Western poetry rather easily, and the distinctions of *eros* and *agape* are just as operative here as they are in Urdu.

CONCLUSION

The explanations of the grammatical phenomenon involving gender in Hindi and Urdu set forth herein are valid for a scholarly meeting such as we have here with ACTUAL. However, the question of giving these explications to first-year language students of Hindi and Urdu (these structures are introduced during the first semester of the first year of study) is debatable. If a teacher has students who have a firm grasp of linguistics, he can very effectively give the linguistic discussion of this problem with the certainty that what has been said will be understood. If one has students with a basis in literary studies, the cultural explanation of the phenomenon can be easily understood. If one is very lucky, he might have a student or students conversant in both fields and can offer both explanations.

However, in teaching first-year language students--all undergraduates--at Oakland University, I have not presented either of these explanations when discussing the grammatical structures involved. I have found them, by and large, incapable of grasping the implications of what is being said. They invariably end up being very confused. My approach has been to demand that they learn the patterns simply because "That's the way it is." I have found that discussion of these linguistic and cultural complexities are best understood when students have had some exposure to other "exceptions" to Hindi and Urdu grammar and to Indian culture in general, usually by their second year of language study. Students with such exposure tend to feel more at ease with the notion that all questions, both grammatical and cultural, need not have a Right Answer but can, instead, have several or even many answers.